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THE HOLY SPIRIT AND ISLAM

Three hundred years before the Hegira and three hundred years after Pentecost the Church of Christ expressed its faith in the Holy Spirit, using words that have become the heritage and the symbol of universal Christianity: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father (and the Son) who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified: Who spake by the Prophets" . . .

"The faith of the Trinity lies,
Shrined for ever and ever, in those grand old words and wise;
A gem in a beautiful setting; still, at matin-time,
The service of Holy Communion rings the ancient chime;
Wherever in marvelous minster, or village churches small,
Men to the Man that is God out of their misery call,
Swelled by the rapture of choirs, or borne on the poor man's word,
Still the glorious Nicene confession unaltered is heard;
Most like the song that the angels are singing around the throne
With their 'Holy! holy! holy! to the great Three in One.'" [1]

But why speak of the Holy Spirit and Islam? Is there not an incongruity in this juxtaposition of two words? Did the Holy Spirit also speak through him whom our Moslem brethren designate as the last and greatest of the Prophets? Can there be relation between the Dove of Peace and the Sword of Islam? Historically, ethically and spiritually the Upper Room in Jerusalem and the Prophet's Chamber in Medina seem as far apart as the East is from the West, Averroes from Newton, Harun

1 Quoted in Schaff—*The Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. I. p. 27.

from Alfred, 'Aisha from Mary Magdalene, Ali from St. Paul, Bethlehem's manger from the Ka'aba at Mecca. And yet our very confession that the Holy Spirit is "the Lord and Giver of Life"—of all life and the only source of life—compels us to think more deeply and with truer judgment on this relationship.

The rigid monotheism of Islam has no true place for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The words Holy Spirit occur only four times in the Koran and are of doubtful significance. By arranging all the references to "the Spirit" and "the Holy Spirit" chronologically, we find five passages where the Spirit is identified with angels especially Gabriel;[2] three which deal with the Spirit in the creation of man;[3] five which refer to the Spirit as the channel of revelation;[4] and six passages which link the Spirit with Jesus the son of Mary.[5] The commentators on these passages are blind spiritual guides. The best of them are perplexed by the text: "They will ask thee of the Spirit: Say, the Spirit proceedeth at my Lord's command: but of knowledge only a little to you is given" (17:87); with the result that they offer an amazing list of alternative interpretations. The Holy Spirit is Gabriel, or a supreme angel, a breath, light, faith, the Koran, prophecy, the Gospel, Jesus, pure human spirits, an influence, a victory, a being greater than angels, God's great name, etc.[6] Yet we gather from orthodox interpretation that although God's Spirit is shrouded in such mystery, it proceeds from God as the breath from the body; it is limitless and capable of being infused into countless personalities without diminution or loss of identity; and it was thus in-breathed into Adam at his creation and into the Virgin Mary for the miraculous birth of Jesus.

The late Canon Gairdner loved to speculate on the Moslem doctrine of the Spirit as a possible point of con-

2 97: 4; 78: 38; 70: 4; 26: 193; 16: 104.
3 15: 29; 32: 8; 38: 72.
4 16: 2; 17: 87; 40: 15; 42: 52; 58: 22.
5 2: 81, 254; 4: 168; 5: 109; 19: 18; 21: 91; 66: 12.
6 Cf. "The Holy Spirit in Qu'ran and Bible," by Rev. C. G. Mylrea and Shaikh Iskandur 'Abd-ul-Masih. (C. L. S., Madras).

tact with Moslems in preaching to them the unsearchable riches of Christ. He saw how near Mohammed came to the mystery and yet how far off he remained. In his paper for the Jerusalem Council Meeting he wrote: "If Mohammed's awful Visitant was none other than The Spirit, then It was a being altogether higher than the angels, for he describes It as 'endued with power, having influence with the Lord of the Throne, obeyed' (by celestials, surely). There results the noblest and most convincing interpretation attempted by Islamic thinkers, namely: the Spirit is a unique Being, above *all* creatures, related uniquely, intimately and actively to the Lord of the Throne.

"This teaching, though rare, to the multitude unknown, and even for adepts full of awesome and dangerous mystery, is a part of what Christ came not to destroy but to fulfill. It seems clear that Moslem theologians, though following the way to truth, wavered when within a step of their goal out of respect for their commendable belief in the Unity of the Deity. They saw the transcendental character of the Spirit, even admitted (some of them) that It is uncreate but hesitated to admit Its Eternity. In many of His attributes, the Spirit of the Koran is the Holy Spirit of the Bible, or at least of the Old Testament, in all but name." [7]

Some would hesitate to endorse all of this statement. For in this connection we must not forget that among the titles given to Mohammed is that of Paraclete! Moslem writers assert that Christ foretold the coming of the Prophet in His last discourse and that the Greek word translated Paraclete originally signified Mohammed. This blasphemous error arose early and is common among all classes of Mohammedans.[8] On the other hand no one can read the writings of the Mohammedan mystics without being convinced that God's Spirit led them toward and not away from the light and the truth. Al-

7 Report of the Jerusalem Conference, Vol. I, page 195, *The Christian Message.*
8 See *Faraqlit* in Hughes' *Dict. of Islam* and cf. Rice's *Crusaders of the Twentieth Century, pp.* 399–341, 405–407.

Ghazzali's testimony to the character and sinlessness of Jesus Christ, Al-Sha'arani's ingenious and reverent speculation on why Jesus is called the Spirit of God,[9] and the words of the *Masnavi* are instances in point:

> " For granite man's heart is, till grace intervene
> And, crushing it, clothe the long barren with green;
> When the fresh breath (Spirit) of Jesus shall touch the heart's core
> It will live, it will breathe, it will blossom once more."

Whatever may be the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Islam, we know that for those in contact with Islam as missionaries, every virtue these witnesses possess, every victory won, every thought of holiness, every deed of kindness, every ministry of love is His alone.

Moreover, whatever values there lie hidden in the non-Christian religions come directly or indirectly through the witness and work of the Spirit. Reformed theology has always spoken of common as well as of special grace. By the former, Calvin meant those gracious influences or restraints of the Holy Spirit exercised in the natural heart of fallen man and throughout the history of the race, by which the soil was prepared for the seed of the Word and by which human hearts were made to yearn for God.

The witness to Christ in the Koran, the spiritual poetry and prayers of the mystics, the present-day admiration for the character of Jesus, the desire to search the Scriptures, the friendliness and sympathy where formerly there was hostility and fanaticism—all these surely are the work of God's Spirit. Yet this is only preparatory to His work of conversion and should urge us to prayer for an outpouring of God's Spirit as at Pentecost. Apart from Him we can do nothing. If our stupendous spiritual task meets with success anywhere and in any way it is not by might nor by power, but by the Holy Spirit alone. The Holy Spirit is the one and only source of all true power for evangelism, all real strength for noble endeavor, for fruitful and effective service, for sacrificial living. Face to face with the new conditions of

9 *Kitab al Yawaqit wa'l Jawahir*, pp. 144-147.

our day, the new difficulties and the new encouragements, let us go forth in the old faith of the disciples on the day of Pentecost, go forth in the possession of the power that was theirs, yet not theirs alone, with a great expectancy. "Ye shall receive power . . . ye shall be my witnesses." "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." "And He, when He is come, will convict the world in respect of sin and of righteousness and of judgment: of sin because they believe not on me; of righteousness because I go to the Father and ye behold me no more; of judgment because the prince of this world hath been judged."

Princeton, N. J. S. M. ZWEMER.

WAS MUHAMMAD A PROPHET FROM HIS INFANCY?

(In this and the following article, the spelling used by the authors has been purposely retained.—*Ed.*)

The point has recently been once more raised in controversy that while other prophets were called to their mission and before their call followed the religion of their people, Muhammad was a prophet from his infancy, was by special grace preserved from all taint of idolatry, and never at any time followed any other faith than that which he preached in his manhood.[1]

The whole question is, of course, an exceedingly foolish one, for one would have thought it sufficiently obvious to any instructed intelligence that every prophet before his call has followed the religion of his people, and that an infant prophet would be psychologically a monstrosity. The question, however, is one that is continually coming up when one is in discussion with Muslim students, and it may not be uninteresting to readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD to consider a few facts that are relevant in this connection.

The Qur'ān itself mentions only two prophets who, it claims, were prophets from infancy, viz., John the Baptist and Jesus. Of John we read in xix. 13 "Oh John, take the book with strength, and we gave him *al-hukm* as a child." Where *al-hukm,* as Baidāwī tells us, was generally taken to mean the prophetic office (*an-nubuwwa*). Of Jesus we read in xix. 31 that while still an infant in his mother's arms He said, "I am a servant of God: He has given me the book and made me a prophet." Neither of these statements is, of course, historically true, the latter being based on the apocryphal

1 This is a commonplace of orthodox theology. The interested student will find in Abu Na'im's *Dala'il an-Nubuwwa,* pp. 58–60, a chapter devoted to Traditions as to how God preserved Muhammad from following the religious rites and customs of the Jahiliyya.

legends of the *Gospel of the Infancy*,[2] and the former, in all probability, going back to the Judæo-Christian Gnostic teaching which we find still preserved among the Mandæans. As for Muhammad himself, we read in xciii. 6 and 7 of God saying to him, "Did He (i. e., thy Lord) not find thee an orphan and give thee shelter, find thee erring and guide thee," where the technical words *dāllan* and *hadā* make it obvious that the reference is to his being found by Allah in a false religion and guided to the true, as the older exegetes recognized,[3] though at a later time an effort was made to refer this passage to his being taken into his grandfather's home.[4]

Apart from specific passages, however, the whole attitude of Muhammad in the Qur'ān is that of a man who has forsaken the old religion of his people, and is pressing on them the necessity of embracing a new and better religion, which he has been called to proclaim, and the acceptance of which will be for their eternal benefit. This, of course, is only what we should, from the nature of the case, expect, and is the only reasonable basis from which we can attempt to interpret the significance of Muhammad's mission to his people, and it is interesting to note that as we get back to the early *sīra* material we find that there is evidence that till the call to what he regarded as the prophetic office, Muhammad did follow the pagan religion of his pagan Meccan contemporaries.

The present writer has not attempted to comb through the traditions in search of such evidence, but would here draw attention to certain fairly well known facts, the significance of which in this connection is not always grasped, yet which certainly deserve consideration. Let it be said at the outset that these are all facts which will bear the test of the searching light of our modern criticism of tradition. Muslim criticism of tradition has as a rule concerned itself solely with the examination of the *isnād*, i. e., with the chain of witnesses from whom the tradition has been handed down, and has paid very little

2 See also Sura III. 41, 43, and Tisdall *Original Sources of the Qur'an*, p. 169.
3 Cf. as-Suddi in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, I. i. 126.
4 Vide Baidawi on the passage for both interpretations.

attention to the *matn* or substance of tradition itself, so that it is as a rule only among the more scholarly and independent Muslim writers, such as al-Ghazzālī, that we find traditions quoted for the *matn* without any consideration for the *isnād*.

For the purposes of modern scholarship, of course, criticism which confines its investigations to the *isnād* is worthless, and so the critical work of Goldziher, Caetani, Lammens and others of our modern investigators, has been directed to the *matn* with astonishingly fruitful results. Now it is well known that one of the strongest tendencies in tradition-formation is the idealization of the character about which the traditions are growing. Examples of this will occur to everyone in connection with the Apocryphal Lives of Jesus, in the growth of the Buddha legend, or even in the Alexander Saga. It is thus precisely those traditions which are furthest from this idealizing tendency which are *a priori* the most likely to be genuine. It is for this reason that the traditions we are about to quote are so valuable, for it is impossible to imagine their having been invented after the idealizing process had started. Indeed there was every reason for suppressing them at that time, and it is difficult to believe that they would have survived had they not been old and unquestionably authentic.

(i) We read in the *Kitābu'l-Bad'i wa't-Tārikh* of al-Maqdisī,[5] that according to the ancient authority al-Qatāda, the first son whom Khadīja bore to Muhammad in the Jāhiliyya was named by him 'Abd Manāf, i. e., Servant of Manāf. Now Manāf was an ancient idol venerated by the Quraish, and at one time seems to have been the most important divinity at Mecca (*a'zam asnām Makka*).[6] We know little about the idol save that it was Hudhail, and had some sexual significance.[7]

It might of course be argued that in naming the child 'Abd Manāf Muhammad was only following family cus-

5 *Ed.* Huart, vol. iv. p. 139 of the Arabic text.
6 Tabari, *Annales*, i. 1092.
7 *Kitabu'l-Asnam* (ed. Zaki Pasha) p. 32.

tom, for his own great-great-grandfather was named 'Abd Manāf.[8] This, however, is really begging the question, for Muhammad after his assumption of the prophetic office showed considerable anxiety about the necessity of changing the names of those of his followers which were reminiscent of the old Paganism.[9] It was undoubtedly this tendency to remove all traces of the old heathen theology which suppressed the name 'Abd Manāf from the lists of the children of Muhammad given in Tabarī and Ibn Hishām. It is thus not reasonable to suppose that he would have named his own first-born 'Abd Manāf had he been at that time following the "religion of Abraham" which he later professed, and which was characterized by such uncompromising hostility to all forms of idolatry. It is at least interesting to note in this connection that his only child of whose birth we are absolutely certain, came after the assumption of the prophetic office, and he named it Ibrahim.

(ii) We learn from the *sīra* that Muhammad married three of his daughters to idolatrous husbands in Mecca. There is some confusion as to details in the early literature, but the facts seem to be that Ruqayya was married to 'Utba, the son of Abū Lahab, and Umm Kulthūm to his brother 'Utaiba. They separated from their husbands (al-Khudarī bluntly says they were divorced),[10] to join their father after the proclamation of his mission, and were later given, first Ruqayya and then Umm Kulthūm, as wives to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who later became the third caliph.[11] In the case of Zainab, his eldest daughter, we have a touching little story of the parting between her and her husband Abū'l-'As b. Rabī', he being taken prisoner at Badr and granted his life on condition of allowing his wife to come over to her father's party, though he was given her back again when at last he became a

8 Ibn Hisham, p. 68: Tabari, i. 1091: and al-Khushani's Gloss on the *Sira* of Ibn Hisham. ed. Brönnle, p. 3.

9 Margoliouth *Mohammed*, p. 454—"Many of the visitors' names which were redolent of paganism, or were otherwise displeasing to the Prophet's delicate ear, were altered by him to something better." Vide also the *Sunan* of Abu Da'ud, ii, 199.

10 *Nur al-Yaqin*, p. 127.

11 See Muir *Life of Mohammed*, pp. 34 and 172, and Ibn Hisham 465: Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, viii, 24, 25.

Muslim.[12] The whole account in the early literature makes it very clear that at the time of the marriage of these daughters to idolatrous Meccans there was no consciousness on the part of anyone of any difference between the religion of Muhammad and that of his Meccan contemporaries.

(iii) A very pretty story enshrined in the *sīra* is that which tells how in his early manhood Muhammad assisted in the rebuilding of the Ka'ba. As it has come down to us the story has been considerably embellished, and coloured to emphasize the importance of Muhammad and the signal position of honour and esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens. The story, however, occurs in three sources, Ibn Hishām, Tabarī, and Ibn Sa'd,[13] and would seem to be based on an actual occurrence.

Stripped of its embellishments the story is as follows. An unusually violent and prolonged flood had seriously injured the fabric of the Ka'ba, the roof was damaged, serious cracks had appeared in the walls, and thieves had taken advantage of this condition to rob the treasury therein. While the leaders of the Quraish were still deliberating as to how the necessary repairs were to be effected, news reached them of a Greek ship which had been wrecked by the same storm on the coast. Al-Walīd, the chieftain of the city, proceeded to the coast, along with some of the notables of Mecca, bargained for the timber of the wreck, and engaged from among the crew a Coptic carpenter named Baqūm (Pachomius), who knew something of architecture, to supervise the operations of restoration. When the time came to build in the Black Stone there was some friction among the Meccan notables, each one wishing to have the honour of placing in position this sacred cult object. To settle the quarrel they agreed that the stone should be set up by the first person who chanced to enter the Ka'ba court. This hap-

12 *Nur al-Yaqin*, p. 127.
13 Ibn Hisham, p. 122 ff: Tabari, 1, 1138 ff. Ibn Sa'd, I, i, 93.

pened to be Muhammad, who was summoned to the task and performed it.

The Ka'ba at this time, as is well known, was in some sort the Pantheon of the Arab tribes and was full of idols. It was the House of that al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt against whom Muhammad later fulminated in the Qur'ān, and the fact that we see him assisting in the rebuilding of the idol house, and evidently proud of being called in to assist, would seem clear evidence that at that time he had not taken that attitude toward idolatry which was perhaps his most outstanding characteristic in the early years of his Mission. In other words, we can assume that at that time he was following peacefully in the religion of his people.

(iv) We have preserved to us but few details of Muhammad's domestic life with his first wife Khadīja, but there is an interesting passage in the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal which raises the veil for a moment from their custom of evening prayer.[14] In this tradition a neighbour of theirs tells how he overheard Muhammad saying to his wife, "Oh Khadīja: by Allah, I will not worship al-Lāt nor al-'Uzzā: by Allah I will not perform worship again." But Khadīja said, "Leave al-Lāt and leave al-'Uzzā." The neighbour adds, "These were their idols which they used to worship, and then go to bed."

It would seem obvious from this that it was the family custom in that household to perform their devotions to these "daughters of Allah" before retiring at night, and that the tradition comes from that period in Muhammad's spiritual development when he was beginning to feel the futility of idol worship, and under the influence of the purer religions around him, or may be of those shadowy persons the Hanīfs, who had been enormously influenced by Judaism and Christianity, was seeking after that monotheism which later he preached so successfully in Arabia.

The Muslim authorities, however, who naturally cannot dream of admitting this interpretation, raise two ob-

14 *Musnad*, iv, 222.

jections to it from the language of the tradition itself. Firstly, they say we should translate, "By Allah I will not worship *them* ever," the pronoun having been left out. Secondly, they point out that the verbs in the last clause, "which they used to worship and then go to bed," are plural in form and not dual, and so must refer to the pagan Arabs and not to Muhammad and Khadīja. The point raised in the first objection is remotely possible, for, in earlier Arabic, writers were not so particular in observing all the minute points of accuracy which became such an obsession after classical Arabic had degenerated into a language of grammars and lexicons. On the other hand it must be pointed out that the translation we have given is the natural sense of the passage, and the other would never have entered anyone's head had it not been for some *a priori* necessity of saving Muhammad from ever saying that he would give up worship. As to the second, the consideration which we have already advanced to admit the possibility of the first objection weighs strongly against the validity of this. A modern writer, mindful of grammar and lexicon, would probably be meticulous in his use of duals and plurals, but anciently it was not so. In any case the whole tradition is pointless if it does not refer to the household of Muhammad and Khadīja, and if pressed we could always argue that the plural is used to include the family.

(v) Also in the *Musnad* (i, 189) we have preserved a story of the meeting of Muhammad with Zaid b. 'Amr, perhaps the most famous of those above-mentioned Hanīfs, near whose grave at the foot of Mt. Hirā, Muhammad used to retire for meditation and solitary reflection during that momentous period which immediately preceded his assumption of the prophetic office.[15] The story reads thus, "While Muhammad and Zaid b. Hāritha were at Mecca, there met them Zaid b. 'Amr b. Nufail, so they invited him to their table, but he said, 'Oh son of my brother, I do not eat of what has been sacrificed to idols' (*lā ākulu mimmā dhubiha 'alā'n-nusubi*), so from

[15] Muir, *Life*, p. 37: Ibn Hisham, p. 152.

that time the Prophet never ate of anything sacrificed to idols."

Readers of the New Testament will be familiar with the words of Paul regarding meat offered to idols. It was a common pagan custom and was widely practised among the heathen Arabs.[16] The *nusub* or *ansāb* were primitive stone pillars beside which the victims were slain. The blood which was the essence of the offering, was poured out over the stone or at its base, and the flesh distributed to those who took part in the sacrifice, who took it home to feast upon.[17] The conclusion obviously is that Muhammad and Zaid b. Hāritha had assisted at a pagan sacrifice, and had brought home with them their share of the flesh of the victim, so that it was Zaid b. 'Amr's rebuke that caused Muhammad to give up the practice.

The only real attempt to avoid this conclusion that the present writer has heard of is that which takes the words *'alā'n-nusubi,* as meaning not "sacrificed to idols" which would be *li'n-nusubi,* but merely "on stones." The linguistic point raised here, however, is inconclusive, for the preposition *'alā* is quite as valid as *li* in this connection, and the objection also misses the point that the *nusub* are not ordinary stones such as might be used for a butcher's block, but cult objects, the equivalent of the Greek *stēlai,* and a common pagan oath was "by the *ansāb*" or "by the blood which on the *ansāb* flows." [18]

(vi) Finally we may draw attention to a still more conclusive instance of Muhammad's association with the ancient pagan worship, where we are actually given the words of a confession from his own lips, that in his younger days he had sacrificed a white ewe to al-'Uzzā. The passage is given by Yāqūt al-Hamawī in the article on al-'Uzzā in his Geographical Dictionary.[19] It runs as follows, "Said Abū'l-Mundhir. It has reached us that the prophet made mention of her (i. e., al-'Uzzā) one

16 They are mentioned as early as Herodotus, iii, 8.
17 Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums,* pp. 117, 118: Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* p. 201: Nöldeke in *ERE,* I. 665: Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kitabu'l-Asnam,* p. 34.
18 Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 129: Ibn al-Kalbi, p. 42, quoting a verse of 'Amr b. Jabir: Nöldeke, *op. cit.*
19 *Mu'jamu'l-Buldan,* ed. Wüstenfeld, III, 664.

day and said, 'Why, I made an offering of a reddish white ewe to al-'Uzzā when I was following the religion of my people.'" Al-'Uzzā is one of the three idols of the Ka'bā mentioned by name in the Qur'ān (lii, 19) and whose name was used by the Quraish in their battle-cry,[20] so that she seems to have been the most important of the many deities worshipped at Mecca, if not indeed the original goddess of the place.[21] It is not wonderful, therefore, that Muhammad should have made an offering to her in the days when he followed the religion of his people.

The above quotations are sufficient for our purpose. It is clear from them that in the early strata of the *sīra* it was recognized that before Muhammad went through that religious experience which he regarded as a call to assume the prophetic office, he followed the religion commonly practised by his contemporaries. This is only what we should expect. Just as pious legend wove the apocryphal Gospel legends around the figure of Jesus, and created the Jataka for the Buddha, later Muslim legend would have it that Muhammad was never other than a worshipper of that God of Abraham whom he proclaimed in his later years. It is not an attack on the character of the Prophet to point out these facts that still survive to us as to his early faith, but an attempt to rescue him from the mists of mythology, and set him forth in his true significance in religious history.

Cairo, Egypt. A. JEFFERY.

20 Waqidi, *Kitabu'l-Maghazi*, ed. von Kremer, p. 237.
21 Ibn Hisham, pp. 93, 94: Ibn al-Kalbi, *Asnam*, p. 18: Wellhausen, *Reste* p. 36: Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, p. 294.

IDEAS AND IDEALS OF MODERN ISLAM[1]

The area covered by Islam is so vast that it is difficult for any one person to make himself acquainted with the progress of ideas in every part of it. Of contemporary writers, probably this ideal has been most nearly approached by Dr. S. M. Zwemer, whose recent work, "Across the World of Islam," [2] leaves no country unnoticed wherein the Mohammedan system prevails. His attitude is, indeed, not that of the impartial spectator, his life having been devoted to missionary enterprise, to the conversion of Moslems to evangelical Christianity. Still, he has visited most of the Mohammedan communities, and the statistical information which his work provides is scarcely to be found elsewhere.

It is of some interest to hear what travellers have to say of the relations between the two communities. Mr. Eldon Rutter, the latest European pilgrim to Meccah, suggests that the attitude of the Muslim to the Christian is at present one of unmitigated hatred. To call a man Yahudi, a Jew, is a good-humoured taunt. To call him Nasrani, a Christian, is the most terrible insult which can be launched. "The Christian is more hated throughout the Islamic world at the present time than is Iblis himself. The reason for this is doubtless that the world is in the present age almost entirely ruled by Christian powers to the exclusion of the Muslimin."[3] M. Michaud Bellaire, whose lectures on Morocco form the latest volume of the "Archives Marocaines," and who is profoundly acquainted with the Islam of North Africa, regards this feeling as that of an earlier period than our

1 Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on December 4, 1929 and reprinted with slight abbreviation from the Journal of the Central Asian Society (Jan., 1930) by special permission of the author.

2 Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

3 "The Holy Cities of Arabia" (London: Putman, 1928), i. 41.

own. The Confréries or religious associations, which have in North Africa an importance which exceeds what they possess in most Islamic countries, used, their author tells us, to be enemies, not of strangers, but of Christianity. Then he adds, speaking of the policy of the Makhzin or Government of Morocco at the time of the French occupation of Algeria, as follows:[4]

"Hatred of the infidel Christian is the fundamental argument whereon the whole policy of the Makhzin is based: all the acts of the Sultan 'Abd al-Rahmān are explained by his zeal for religion, his hatred of the infidel: that is the keynote which recurs incessantly throughout his correspondence. There is no question there of the French, nor of the King of France, nor of the French Government, but only of the infidel. We know that all the policy of the Makhzin consisted in maintaining the tribes in profound hatred of this infidel, and preventing by all means a contact which would be of a nature to cause this hatred to disappear. The Christian must remain in the mind of the people a being of an inferior and despised race, carrying with him all sorts of pollution, whose mere presence can compromise the eternal salvation of the Muslim."

That this attitude had not changed up to the beginning of this century we should gather from the work of the Abbé Roquette, of which the name on the title-page is "Secret Societies among the Mussulmans," whereas on the headings of the pages it is "*Le Diable* among the Mussulmans."[5] He, however, supposes the hatred to be directed against Catholicism rather than against what is ordinarily called Christianity or Panchristianism, to use a term for which we are perhaps indebted to His Holiness the present Pope.

If we turn to Palestine, where the Muslims and Christions have a common interest in resistance to the Jews, we find a very different spirit from that to which Mr. Rutter bears witness, at least on the surface. The Sayyid

4 "Archives Marocaines" (Paris, 1927), xxvii., p. 219.
5 "Les Sociétés Secrètes chez les Musulmans," Paris, 1899.

Abdallah Mukhlis, a member of the Arabic Academy of Damascus, in a lecture delivered in 1927, printed in a local magazine and republished in 1928, with the title "Muslims and Christians," collects a series of texts of the Qur'an, sayings of the Prophet, and anecdotes from the history of the successive Islamic dynasties, showing how friendly the relations between the two communities have always been, how profound has been the respect with which the Muslim authorities have treated their Christian subjects, and how unfortunate it is that this ideal state of affairs should have been spoiled by European intervention.

Doubtless the anecdotes which Abdallah Mukhlis adduces in support of his thesis are well attested: but they are not exhaustive, and the treatment of the subject religions has varied very much in different Muslim lands: varied with different sovereigns and different moods of the same sovereign and the same vizier.

Historically, therefore, Mr. Mukhlis's lecture has the weakness that it selects arbitrarily certain narratives which illustrate one aspect of the relations between the two communities, while neglecting others which exhibit a very different attitude. It serves, however, as a corrective to Mr. Rutter's statement, which may indeed be valid for a certain portion of the Islamic community.

The Christian and Muslim populations of Palestine both resented the Balfour Declaration, because it appeared to bestow on the Jews rights which the rest of the population were not to share, and was interpreted to mean that the land belonged to the Jews, who out of their kindness might tolerate the others as aliens. This is not the place to discuss the wisdom of that Declaration: but it naturally led to a sort of alliance between the Muslim and Christian communities, of which the lecture cited furnishes an illustration.

Texts of the Qur'an may certainly be quoted against such an alliance, and in favour of the theory that the ideal of Islam is the unity of Muslims against all who do not

belong to their community. That unity was to be no less firm than that which Plato wanted in his ideal state, and indeed the similes employed to illustrate it are identical. It was to be like one human body, wherein the whole was affected by what happened to any part. Much that is edifying has been written on this subject, and even Mr. Richard Coke, whose recent treatise, "The Arab's Place in the Sun,"[6] is remarkable for its ability, exhaustiveness, and impartiality, has some passages in this strain. His admissions, however, are sufficient to correct the impression which these passages might leave. To the outsider everyone who calls himself a Muslim is a Muslim; the outsider may not even know that Islam is divided into sects. But one who is a member of the community normally belongs to a sect, and is apt to refuse the name Muslim to all but adherents of his own sect or sub-sect.

The mutual hostility of the sects has not unfrequently been greater than their hostility towards non-Muslim communities. Even in the first century of Islam we read of a sect which, while sparing Jews and Christians, massacred all Muslims who did not belong to it; it was divided into two sub-sects, one of which only massacred men, whereas the other massacred women and children also. Quite similarly, to the Muslim everyone who calls himself a Christian is one; and he may not know the distinction between Protestants and Catholics. But it does not follow that members of these respective communities will admit that the others have a right to the name.

The Prophet, indeed, devised an institution for perpetuating the unity of Islam—viz., the religious capital to be visited by every Muslim, which was different from the political capital. The most remarkable event in Islam which has happened in recent years is the possession of this capital by a sect which is by no means associated with tolerance. Our society was fortunate in having an account of it from an accredited member, who drew an interesting parallel between one Ibn Taimiyyah,

6 London: Butterworth, 1929.

ob. 728, and the German inaugurator of the Christian reformation. From the work of Palgrave, the most entertaining of Arabian explorers, as Doughty is the most impressive, we should have learned that the main doctrine of the Wahhabis is the criminality of smoking. An Egyptian controversialist[7] asserts that any Wahhabi has the right and the duty to interfere with and chastise anyone whom he finds indulging in this habit, and he therefore taunts the Wahhabi Government with inconsistency in obtaining revenue from a duty on imported tobacco. Baron Nolde, however, tells us that he smoked with impunity in the streets of Wahhabi Hayil; the latest and perhaps greatest explorer of Arabia, Mr. Philby, records that he sought secrecy for this indulgence.

The main point whereon the Wahhabis disagree with other Muslim communities is, however, not connected with tobacco, but with the intercession of saints. This matter involves one Islamic ideal—the recognition of the unity of the Deity. The Wahhabis regard the employment of such intercession as polytheistic, and since the devout visit the graves of deceased saints in order to secure their intercession, the Wahhabis go to the length of desecrating or destroying the tombs. Their opponents not only maintain that the employment of such intercession is authorized by the Qur'an, the tradition, and the consensus of authorities, but assert that the saints are alive in their graves. This belief doubtless underlies the practice of visiting those places, though the devotees may not always be conscious of it: some, however, are fully conscious of it, as the mystic Sha'rani, who in his treatise on his own gifts and virtues mentions that he had repeatedly held conversations with the jurist Shafi'i in his grave near Cairo, though Shafi'i had been dead some eight hundred years. Ibn Taimiyyah himself did not deny that those who invoked deceased saints were at times rewarded by visions of them, but supposed that in such cases evil spirits, *jinn,* assumed the forms of these saints in order to

7 Muhammad Hasanain Makhluf in "Al-Sawa'iq al-Ilahiyah," Cairo, 1929 (?).

delude simple minds, who indeed, by appealing to someone other than Allah, had merited such victimization.

The question whether the worship of saints is in accordance with the primitive ideas of Islam does not concern outsiders: the followers of 'Abd al-Wahhab have not been content with abstaining from such practices themselves, but think it their duty to prevent other Muslims from performing them, and their possession of the two great sanctuaries of Islam, Meccah and Medinah, both rich in resting-places of eminent saints, has therefore affected the whole Muslim world. "They destroyed in Meccah the birth-place of the Prophet, which has now become a resting-place for camels, also the birth-places of Abu Bakr and Ali, the house of Khadijah, mother of Believers, the house of Arqam, the Mosque of the Jinn, the Mosque of Kauthar, and all the domes in the Mu'alla; and in Medinah they destroyed all the graves to be found in al-Baqī' (the cemetery where many of the Prophet's Companions lay), likewise the Mosque of Hamzah, the Prophet's uncle, with his tomb at Uhud." This is the report of an Egyptian visitor.

Mr. Rutter's account is no less impressive.[8] "When I entered the Bakîa the sight which I saw was as it were a town which had been razed to the ground. All over the cemetery nothing was to be seen but little indefinite mounds of earth and stones, pieces of timber, iron bars, blocks of stone, and a broken rubble of cement and bricks strewn about. It was like the broken remains of a town which had been demolished by an earthquake. . . . Demolished and gone were the great white domes which formerly marked the graves of the members of Muhammad's family, of the third Khalifah, Othman, of the Imam Malik, and of others. Lesser monuments had suffered a like fate, and even the little cages of *jerid* sticks, with which the poor cover the graves of their dead, had all been crushed and thrown aside or burnt."

How far any of these monuments were authentic—*i. e.*,

8 *Op. cit.*, ii. 256.

connected by a continuous and trustworthy tradition with the person or the events to which they were ascribed—is a difficult question: we know that civil war raged in both places during the Umayyad period, and that the sanctity of sites was no more spared by the fighters in these cases than by Christians.

> They burned the chapel for very rage
> And cursed Lord Cranstoun's goblin page.

Even the Black Stone is of doubtful genuineness, since the Black Stone was removed by the Wahhabis' predecessors, the Qarmatians, in the fourth century, and restored by them after many years: it may be doubted whether the stone which they returned was the same as the stone which they removed. Still, it is natural that the feelings of other Muslim communities should be wounded by the destruction of monuments which they revered, just as the Prophet's removal of the idols which surrounded the Ka'bah in his time must have left a painful impression on many minds.

The Egyptian writer whom I have quoted records an interesting fact which excites his astonishment. It would, he says, have been logical for the Wahhabis to forbid the visitation of these sites, since such visitation implies to their minds polytheism. They do not do that, but have placed the sites in charge of custodians, who demand a fee from visitors.

A story which he tells is worth translating. An Egyptian pilgrim uttered the invocation, "O Apostle of Allah," and was told by a Wahhabi who heard him that he was an unbeliever, as he had invoked someone other than Allah. "You have invoked," he said, "the Apostle, who is dead, and who is useless now. This stick is better than he, as it is of some use." The Egyptian was angry, and a fierce dispute arose. "Let me show you," said the Wahhabi. A camel was moving on the road, and the Wahhabi made it kneel. He said to it, "Camel, in the name of Allah's Apostle, rise!" The camel did not move. He then struck

the camel with the stick, and it rose. "Did I not tell you," he said, "that the stick was more useful, only you would not believe me?"

Allah, the writer proceeds, then inspired the Egyptian with an idea which acted like a thunderbolt. He took the stick from the Wahhabi and made the camel kneel. Then he said to the camel, "In the name of Allah, rise up!" The camel did not move. Then he hit it with the stick, and it rose. He said to the Wahhabi, "What do you say now? Is the stick more useful than Allah?" The Wahhabi admitted that he was nonplussed.

This mode of reasoning seems somewhat naïve and behind the times. On the whole, one prefers the historic method wherein Qur'anic texts and traditions are marshalled on the one side and the other, and the dispute is about the interpretation of the one and the authenticity of the other. It is asserted that when the Wahhabis took Meccah, they wished to destroy the Màqam of Abraham—*i. e.,* the stone which retains the impression of the patriarch's foot, dating from the time when he built the Ka'bah. They were induced to spare it by the argument that this relic is expressly mentioned in the Qur'an, and included among the Clear Signs which are to be found in Bakkah, as the home of the Prophet is there called. It might certainly be argued from this text that the veneration of sacred sites is permissible or even commendable, though the Wahhabi might reply that extension of the privilege to other sites was not permissible. In the biography of the Prophet there are certainly anecdotes which may be used in favour of the practice of visiting graves, and the belief that their inhabitants retain the power of hearing and understanding. But the authenticity of the traditions which make up the Prophet's biography is always open to question, and controversy which follows this line is unlikely to lead to any ascertained result.

The visitation of tombs takes us from the region where it is forbidden to the region where it is most lavishly

practised, and here we have the advantage of using the work on Islam which of all those that have been published in recent times seems to me the richest in information—the posthumous treatise of Mr. F. W. Hasluck, edited by his widow, with the title "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans." [9] It is the result of travel in European and Asiatic Turkey, or lands which were once included in the Ottoman Empire, and laborious research into the works of earlier travellers and explorers. It is mainly an account of sacred places, supposed to be tombs of saints, visited by Mohammedans or Christians, or both: historical inquiries into the origin of the cults and ceremonies connected with these shrines and their adaptation to Christian or Muslim ideas, into the theory of sainthood as held by the different communities, and the diffusion of certain superstitions, often traceable to pagan times, and their perpetuation down the ages. The work is of special value for its account of the Bektashi order, its importance in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and the aims which it pursues in the present day in Albania and the Balkans. The information amassed on this subject is a marvel of thoroughness and industry.

Mr. Hasluck has furnished a complete translation of a summary of Bektashi beliefs which was published in Albanian, a language little known outside the area in which it is spoken. The employment of this language both for instruction in religion and devotion is a concession to nationalism, not unlike what has occurred in the Turkey of Mustafa Kemal. It may convince some readers of the accuracy of Mr. Hasluck's opinion that Bektashism aims at winning over the Christian population into the Islamic community, utilizing the reverence paid to the local shrines as an expedient for the purpose. That it is Islamic does not admit of doubt: the saints or sacred persons whom it recognizes are either the objects of veneration among the Shi'ah—viz., the family of the Prophet Muhammad and the twelve Imams—or such Biblical

9 Oxford University Press, 1929.

saints as are mentioned in the Qur'an. On the other hand, its main precepts are those of philanthropy and moral purity, and it enjoins respect for the Christian religion and inculcates fraternity between the two communities.

It is a change of atmosphere when we turn from Mr. Hasluck's accurate, sober, and profoundly learned investigations to the pamphlets of the Egyptian theorists, which, however, owing to the reputation of Al-Azhar University as the headquarters of Islamic learning and tradition, are widely read in Islamic countries. To this, Dr. Zwemer, who has visited so many of them, testifies. The views of these theorists differ very widely. Some are frankly reactionary: such is 'Abd al-Bāqi Surūr Nu'aim, a sheikh of Al-Azhar, whose views are put forth in a pamphlet called "Islam Past and Present," dated 1924. He looks back with pride on the early days when the Arab hordes overran large portions of three continents, overthrowing Governments, and offering the populations the choice between conversion and subjection. And he finds the explanation of these triumphs in the unity of Islam, brought about by the blind and whole-hearted acceptance of the Qur'an as the rule of life and conduct, as well as a manual of religion. And he calls attention to the stress which the Qur'an lays on fighting power, military equipment, and all which makes for success in war. If the Muslims of our time would take these precepts to heart and, abandoning all other guides, follow the Qur'an, the unity and might which would result would enable them once more to conquer kingdoms and subdue nations.

The persons whom he regards as responsible for the distraction and consequent decay of Islam are a class whom we students of Arabic regard with gratitude and even affection—the commentators on the Qur'an. For the first two centuries of Islam there were no commentaries, and Islam was united and victorious; in the third century commentaries were composed, and the Islamic Empire split and its acquisition of territory stopped. The differences of opinion which are characteristic of commen-

tators caused the break-up of Islamic unity, and so furnished the seeds for the state of affairs which we find today.

It is not easy to distinguish this idea from that of Panislamism, but the latter, though not a practical scheme, was less visionary when it appeared than it is today. The Panislamic idea, which was to drive Europeans out of Asia and Africa, relied on the existence of an Islamic power whose military force was respected in Europe—viz., the Ottoman Empire. Abd al-Hamid II. toyed with the idea as a bugbear with which he could frighten European statesmen, but had no idea of starting a *Jihad* himself. He was also aware that, before engaging the European Governments, he would have had to subdue the other Islamic states, whose sovereigns had no intention of submitting to his rule. The prospects are very much bleaker now, since the old Ottoman Empire has broken up; what remains of it has no longer Islam for its official religion, and by abolishing the Caliphate has freed itself from all responsibility for Muslims elsewhere.

But the thesis that division of opinion based on the study of the Qur'an is responsible for the decay of the system is quite untenable. The civil wars of Islam started, not in the third Islamic century, but in the first, just twenty-five years after the Prophet's demise; and they were not religious wars, but dynastic wars, fought not in the interest of some dogma or cult, but in that of some claimant to the throne. The break-up of the Islamic Empire, which commenced in the second Islamic century, continued in the third, and reached a climax in the fourth, was due not to divergent opinions about free-will and predestination, or whether the Qur'an was created or uncreate, but to the difficulty of organizing such a congerie of countries and nations, when communication was so slow and difficult.

Still there are two points on which this pamphlet deserves commendation. One is its recognition of the importance which the Qur'an attaches to military efficiency:

of the fact that the Prophet was essentially a man of war, a conqueror, and a statesman: which is the point of view from which his career is explicable, whereas that for which Bosworth Smith is responsible, that he was a melancholy sentimentalist, is simply to be rejected. In the second place, it is true that the decline of the military power of Islam began when the Muslim masses ceased to be fighters, and the Government depended on a trained force, whose commanders were speedily able to defy the sovereign, depose him, or murder him when they chose.

This author's disapproval of commentators on the Qur'an seems to extend to all, except perhaps himself, as he certainly tries his hand at the same task as theirs. His anger is, however, specially roused by those who go to the Christian and Jewish Scriptures for information. The commentaries of the late Mufti Muhammad Abduh, collected and edited by Rashid Rida, certainly adopt this method, and, though at a distance, follow the footsteps of Modernist commentators on the Bible.

The ideas which dominate this school, if one may apply that term in this case, are quite different. They aim at proving that whatever is good in European civilization is borrowed from Islam: to Islam is due the abolition of slavery, religious toleration, and the improvement of women's status: in the political sphere the substitution of democracy for autocracy. These ideas are to be found in such works as one called "Islam the Spirit of Civilization," originally published as a reply to a work by Lord Cromer, wherein a very different view was taken, but recently reprinted, and so evidently enjoying some popularity. One of my Syrian correspondents adds to these reforms two which he finds that America has borrowed from Islam: prohibition and facility of divorce. In these two matters Islam may certainly claim priority; but it might be difficult to show that the people of the United States had adopted them after contemplation of their beneficial effects on the Islamic peoples. With regard to the others, it would seem that in the Islamic countries

least penetrated by European ideas this theory of the nature of their religion is unpopular; there is reason for thinking that King Amanullah was driven from his throne for adopting some part of it.

The question is sometimes asked whether Islam is faced with the problems which confront Judaism and Christianity in the Higher Criticism. The answer is that so short a time elapsed between the production of the Qur'an and its becoming stereotyped that the question of genuineness is restricted within very small compass. On the other hand, the doubts which are connected with the Higher Criticism and concern the historicity of Biblical characters and events could not fail to have their repercussion in Islam, whose sacred book so largely repeats what is contained in the Christian Scriptures. If, for example, it is held that neither Abraham nor Ishmael can be regarded as historical characters, serious consequences arise for those passages in the Qur'an wherein the two are connected with the building of the Ka'bah, and other deeds and sayings are ascribed to them. From an incident which occurred in Cairo three years ago it may be inferred that the sentiment in Muslim circles is similar to that which was illustrated by the treatment accorded to Robertson Smith in Scotland some fifty years ago, or quite recently in the United States to a teacher who promulgated Darwinism. The Professor of Arabic Literature in the new University of Cairo expressed doubts as to the historicity of Abraham and Ishmael, and the book wherein these passages occurred aroused a storm; protests were addressed to the Minister of Public Instruction, vehement letters were written to the papers, and questions, it is said, asked in Parliament. The Professor adopted the course of declaring himself an orthodox Muslim, and withdrawing his work from circulation, a new edition being substituted from which the obnoxious passages had been removed. From an elaborate work by one of this Professor's opponents, called "Beneath the Standard of the Qur'an," it may be inferred that the Pro-

fessor's discretion occasioned mirth rather than pride or indignation.

The more orthodox method is to regard the Higher Criticism of the Scriptures as a confession by those Christian and Jewish scholars who adopt it that the charge of untrustworthiness brought by the followers of the Qur'an against those Scriptures is established, the true account being contained in the Qur'an.

When we read of the New World of Islam, New Ideas in Islam, and the like, it is probable that the point of view whence we should regard this subject is the radical change brought about by the extension of European rule over Muslim lands, and the abolition of Islam as the state religion in Turkey, once the hope of Panislamism. Accommodation to a state of affairs which the earlier Islam, constantly absorbing fresh territory, never contemplated is the explanation of the new attitude which exponents of the system adopt. It reminds us of Flavius Josephus, who makes it a principle of Judaism never to vilify the deities of any nation, when his contemporary Pliny the Elder speaks of the Jews as notorious for their contempt of the gods, which would appear to be more in harmony with the practice of Israelitish historians, prophets and psalmists. The enthusiasm which was evoked in all Islamic countries by Mustafa Kemal's defeat of the Greeks and the ephemeral victories of 'Abd al-Kerim in North Africa indicate that the sentiment so forcibly expressed by Mr. Rutter is at least widely felt. The dominance, however, of European nations has introduced the Islamic peoples of large portions of Asia and Africa to European literature, science and art, and the effects which history tells us resulted from the arrival of Hellenic culture in the Near East at the hands of Hellenic conquerors are reproduced in our time. There are those who will have nothing to do with it; there are those who frankly acknowledge its superiority to their own inheritance; and there are those who discover that they had it all before the conquerors, and are therefore

under no obligation to those who have introduced it. All three types are familiar to any who have followed the controversies of present-day Christianity. Confronted with the geological record and the researches connected with the name of Darwin, some reject them altogether, others accept them and find some formula whereby they can substitute them for the Biblical cosmogony, and a third set find them all present in and anticipated in the Biblical cosmogony, just as the Alexandrian Jews held that Plato and the Greek philosophers must have plagiarized the Jewish Scriptures.

Before closing I must reply to a criticism to which I have exposed myself. An ideal, it may be said, is not the same as an idea; and my subject has been current ideas rather than ideals. The reply to be offered is that to the historical student the spirit of a religious system is whatever its authorized exponents at any period interpret it to be. This is not, of course, the theological standpoint, from which innovation is intolerable; but the historian, who believes in progressive ethics, as resulting from accumulation of experience, by adopting this principle, escapes the charge of arrogance, of claiming to understand the spirit of a system better than its adherents understood it in previous centuries, or claiming to have hit on an interpretation which future generations will not supersede. Study of chronicles shows us that the spirit of the most widely spread religions underwent radical changes at different periods: to-day, *e. g.*, religious toleration is regarded as a Christian virtue, but the theory that it was criminal prevailed among Christian nations till the middle of the eighteenth century. And if we apply this principle in dealing with time, we may also apply it in the matter of space. The ideals of Islam have to be learned by ascertaining what opinions are authoritative in the different countries where Islam is the dominant religion. They are found, as we have seen, to vary as much as the Catholicism of Spain varies from the doctrine and practice of the Society of Friends.

The old ideal, conquest of the world by force of arms, which twice was nearly realized, and only since the Peace of Carlovitz in 1699 has got outside the region of possibility, is scarcely harboured in these days; even the Panislamists aimed no further than securing the release of the Muslim communities in Asia and Africa from European domination. Nor do many hold the ideal substituted for this, the winning of the world to Islam by peaceful persuasion, if Europe and America be regarded as a large section of the world. There are, indeed, missions and occasional converts; but the progress recorded would seem to be chiefly among pagans. The ideal which the most thoughtful appear to cherish is rather that of embodying in Islam the moral and social reforms which centuries of experience, not always progressive, yet mainly so, have taught the European nations. It does not seem to me to be the function of religion to discover ethics, but to sanctify them when discovered by experience, observation, and reasoning; whence it comes that the same religious system has at different periods sanctified and condemned the same procedure. If, then, the ideal of modern Islam be to utilize the reverence which thirteen centuries have accumulated for their religious institutions in the minds of the Muslim peoples for the sanctification of the advanced ethics which are the discovery of the European peoples, it would seem that members of other religious communities can only wish them God-speed in the attainment of that ideal.

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MISSION SCHOOLS IN PERSIA
(After One Year of Government Regulations)

In the fall of 1928 there was some doubt as to the wisdom of continuing mission schools in Persia. After many months of negotiation between representatives of the missions and the government, a series of regulations were adopted which provided for the mission schools conforming to the government program, and attempted a compromise of the question of religious teaching, which had been foremost in the discussion. The regulation pertaining to religious matters finally adopted by the Ministry of Education may be translated as follows: "The teaching of the Bible in the program for Moslem pupils is forbidden, but to the teaching of selections from the great prophets and renowned scholars there will be no objection. Moslem pupils must take examinations in the Koran and Moslem law according to the official program, whether they study them inside or outside the school."

From this it will be noted that while a victory had been won by the missions in their determination not to teach the Koran, yet the right to use the Bible as a textbook for Moslem students had to be relinquished. Mission schools had thus won a point and lost a point; the government had done the same. With this even break, the schools were opened on probation, the government watching to see that the Bible was not taught to Moslem students, while the schools were feeling their way along new lines. No doubt the government desired the continuation of the schools, but with certain limitations; no less did the missions desire to continue their school work, provided the new program did not abolish the Christian influence of the schools.

During the year all schools made commendable prog-

ress in adopting the government program. The authorities seemed pleased with the spirit shown, and in the government examinations the standing attained by the students of the mission schools was second to none. Thus, there is no doubt that the mission schools have emerged successfully from this period of testing, and have satisfied the government that they are doing an invaluable piece of work.

Can the same be said from the point of view of the missions? During the past year, under new limitations, have the schools been true to their missionary objective? If it is true that the government has been satisfied, what can be said of the Christian conscience of those engaged in the work? Will such schools as we now have continue to help Christian Persia? As an answer to these questions, let us see what has been done.

In order to make the most of the concession that permits teachings of the great prophets to be used in Ethics classes, which of course left the way open to use any Biblical material, since Bible characters from Adam to Paul can be considered "prophets" from the Moslem point of view, the East Persia Mission requested its committee of religious education to draw up satisfactory courses in religious training. By the time the schools were opened in the fall of 1928, this committee was able to offer to all schools mimeographed outlines of excellent courses in Ethics of religious training that were acceptable to the government. With these courses and the opportunity to continue special chapel exercises, and in most cases the help of the evangelists of the station as teachers of Ethics and chapel leaders, the distinct Christian tone of the mission schools has been maintained. Since the Bible could not be used in class, such books as Speer's "The Principles of Jesus" and Neuberg's "Right Living" have been made use of as text and reference books.

These Ethics courses seem to have given general satisfaction, both to government and mission, but the question

that was still unsolved at the end of the first school year under the new plan was that of the government examination in the Koran and Moslem law. Though mission schools were not required to teach these subjects, their Moslem students were to be examined in them. Most schools simply notified their students that they should be ready for such an examination, and they prepared the subject outside of schools hours and passed the examinations acceptably.

The problem that the Department of Education has created for itself is no small one. The official program requires as religious teaching only the Koran and Moslem law. This is an additional load for the Moslem boys and girls, which pupils of other religions do not have, and at the end of the year, they alone must pass the extra examination. Many of the pupils, and even some of the examiners, have spoken of it as the official punishment for being a Moslem! In one of the provinces the local examining body was so struck with the unfairness of this law that they made a rule of their own. The day before the examination on the Koran and the Moslem law it was announced that all students would be examined, each in his own religion. Jew, Moslem and Christian, all were ordered to appear for the examination; thus the punishment for being a Moslem was made less obvious.

In the provincial examinations mentioned above, it was expected that the students in the Primary school (Classes 1–6) would be examined on Moslem law, so most of them were fairly well prepared for it. The surprise came in the first cycle (Classes 7–9) examinations of the middle school. After the controversy over the program a year before, the Department of Education omitted Moslem law from the course of study for the ninth class, which was the class to go up for the examination. However, at the last moment it was decided that the ninth class examination would have to be upon the work of the last three years. The local examining committee which made this discovery announced to the stu-

dents that on the following day they would be examined in religious law, each student in his own particular law. This caused consternation on the part of the teachers and pupils, for even the pupils in the government school in the ninth class had not studied religious law during the past year. To their relief it was decided that the examination should be fairly easy. The success with which this was attained may be understood when it is known that all students passed the examination with excellent grades. Since this examination is unique in Persia, some details connected with it are worthy of note.

When the students from the Jewish school appeared at the government school for examination, it was discovered that neither they nor the local Department of Education had an Old Testament for conducting the examination. It was therefore necessary for the Moslem examiners to send one of the Jewish boys over to the Christian school to borrow a Bible for the examination.

On the morning of the examination, the missionary member of the examining committee arrived late, after all the questions had been prepared. The questions were therefore formulated entirely by the non-Christian members of the committee, three Moslems and a Bahai. The following summary of the questions asked presents an unbiased, uninfluenced Persian statement of the comparative emphasis and content of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity.

The questions asked of the Jewish boys were largely based on ceremonial law, the priesthood, clean and unclean food, tithing, fasting, pilgrimage, usury, the months of the Jewish calendar. There were also questions as to the Mosaic teachings concerning the resurrection, God's eternity, His power, unity, mercy, and the promised Messiah.

The questions on Islam were somewhat similar to those on Judaism, laying special stress upon externals, such as worship, prayer, posture, etc., and the Moslem regulations for every day living. Since social and business

relations under Islam are conducted largely under religious regulations and through the religious courts instead of through a civil organization, the bulk of the questions centered about these laws, as, for instance: "How many days are allowed for revoking a business deal after its consummation?" "What is the proper course to pursue if a flaw is discovered in anything after it has been paid for?" "Who is responsible for a debt after a slave is set free—the freed slave, or his master from whom the money was borrowed?" "Should the minor children of a murdered father accept blood money or ask that the murderer be punished?" etc., etc.

Contrast these with the entirely different type of questions which were asked the Christian boys. "What did Christ teach concerning: Man's attitude toward his fellow-man? Man's relation to God? God's attitude toward the rich and the poor? God's basis of rewarding men? The great Commission? Revenge? Worship?" "Where was Christ born?" "How did He present Himself to the Jews?" "What did the disciples do after His death?" "How did Christianity spread?" "What is the purpose of Christianity?" "Why are you a Christian?"

The questions on Judaism were taken from a small pamphlet, a local compilation of Jewish ceremonial, law, and religious practices. Those on Islam were taken from the small book on Moslem law that is taught in the government schools.

The questions on Christianity were taken paragraph by paragraph from an official text-book on ancient history written for the use of the Persian government middle schools. As the selected questions indicate, the material on Christianity in this book is an excellent summary of the teachings and message of Christianity. The quotations from the gospels in this text-book are full, and cover some of the finest passages, and its inaccuracies are negligible. There is a total absence of prejudice and hostile criticism, and the book does great credit to the Persian

Ministry of Education as a fine attempt to be fair to Christianity as one of the great religions of the world.

During the examination described above, a spirit of general good will prevailed, each student being permitted to exercise absolute freedom in his choice of which examination he would take. Three or four Jewish boys chose the Christian examination, and then asked for church membership the following week. They are now receiving further instruction preparatory to baptism.

The Jewish boy who drew the question on usury answered with a smile, "We must not collect usury from a fellow Jew, but it is permissible to get as much as possible from others, such as Moslems and Christians." The examining committee had to give him 100% for his answer, but laughed at the folly of having students learn doctrines that make impossible the development of a unified state out of the diverse elements that make up the Persia of to-day.

Throughout the examination it was evident that even the non-Christian officials conducting it sensed the superiority of the Christian way. They could not but see that it is through Christian love, and prayer for enemies as well as for fellow-believers, that Persia is to find a common ground for her national as well as for her ethical development.

It is too much now to expect of the Ministry of Education to discard the national religion and adopt Christian teachings in its stead. Yet, even though we are forbidden to teach the Bible to Moslem students, the gradual dropping of Islamic teaching from the government program is a tremendous gain. We can therefore rest assured that the cause of Christian education has not lost ground in Persia during the past months. May we not believe that such contrasts as were brought out in the official examinations described above have served to reach some whom the direct Bible teaching would never have reached?

Hamadan, Persia. C. B. FISHER.

THE DEATH OF JESUS
IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

Towards the end of the year 1927, I was present at some meetings held in the Bickersteth Hall, in Delhi, between representatives of Islam and Christianity. At one of these the Mohammedan speaker advanced an argument to prove that our Lord was not crucified (the ordinary Mohammedan belief). The argument was as follows: In the Epistle to the Hebrews it is stated that our Lord, when He prayed to be delivered from death was " heard in that He feared." The occasion when He prayed was in the garden of Gethsemane, when He prayed that the cup might pass from Him. The answer was obviously given in the way that Mohammedans believe; He was saved from dying. The atonement, or at least the idea of connecting it with the death of Christ, is therefore contrary to the New Testament, because the New Testament shows that Christ did not die.

The passage he referred to is Hebrews 1:7. In the Revised Version we read: " Who in the days of His flesh, having offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and having been heard for His godly fear." There the Mohammedan controversialist would stop. It would however be well to continue the quotation, and not to finish the words quoted, in the middle of the sentence. The words that complete the sentence are: "though He was a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered; and having been made perfect, He became unto all them that obey Him the author of eternal salvation, named of God a high priest after the order of Melchisedek." In other words, so far from the controversialist's interpretation being true, the

words lead on to a plain statement that Christ suffered, and that in consequence He was the author of eternal salvation; having not merely the position of a leading prophet, but also that of the highest rank of priesthood of which the writer and the author of the Psalms had any knowledge.

To go more into detail as regards the text, the Gospels record two occasions on which our Lord seems to have shrunk from death, even apart from all that is included in the Cry from the Cross. There was the agony in the garden, where St. Mark relates that He fell on the ground, the attitude of suppliants, ("prayers and supplications," Heb. v: 7). And there was also the prayer of St. John xii: 27 "Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour." The way in which the Father answered the prayer was not by keeping our Lord from death, but by bringing Him through death to the risen eternal life—the basis of all Christian belief from the first Easter day onwards. He was heard in that He feared, and the method in which He was heard made Him, as is expressly said in the text, *through the perfection attained in the suffering,* the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him.

The argument is therefore not hard to refute, when any consideration is given to the actual text. I understand that it is one of a collection of arguments published in a well-known anti-Christian book in the United Provinces. It might be worth while for someone to get the book, and publish a reply to the arguments, not so much for the sake of convincing Mohammedan controversialists, as in order to show less instructed Christians how this and other arguments can be met.

But merely to refute such a catchword argument does little good. It may, however, be made the basis for a deeper study of the expressions used by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews about the death of our Lord. That may be helpful to each one of us, bringing home to our souls again how much we owe to the great offering

which our Lord made in time upon the cross, and now presents eternally on our behalf in heaven, as the basis of our atonement.

The Epistle to the Hebrews begins with the ascription of divine sonship to our Lord—something which raised Him far above the prophets—Him the heir of all things, through whom the Father made the worlds (i: 1–3). He was the very image of the Father's substance and the effulgence of His glory. He Himself upheld all things by the word of His power, and it was *when He had made purification for sins* that He sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high—much better than the angels, because He had the title and position of Son, (i: 3–4). The writer therefore bursts at once into a declaration of the eternal nature of our Lord and of the atonement that He had wrought, the purification from sins. And as he goes on we see that the *death* of our Lord had a primary place in this work. We behold Him who hath been made a little lower than the angels, even Jesus, *because of the suffering of death* crowned with glory and honour, that by the grace of God He should taste death for every man (ii: 9). This death was one of the great objects of the incarnation. "Since then the children are sharers in flesh and blood, He also in like manner partook of the same, that *through death* He might bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."

So the Hebrew Christians in their difficulties are asked to consider Jesus their great high priest and to gain the blessings promised in connection with Him—a rest of eternity. Jesus was their great high priest; let them hold fast to the Christian confession (iv: 14). It was in reliance on Him, and in fellowship with Him, that they could draw near to the throne of grace, and find both mercy and help (iv: 15, 16).

Then the writer compares our Lord with the earthly high priests of the line of Aaron. They had gifts and

sacrifices to offer for sins for themselves and for others, and just because they were human they had sympathy with sinners. So our Lord, Who had been called of the Father to the eternal high priesthood had (as was prophesied in the 119th Psalm) sympathy with sinners, and interceded for them, just as any true priest does; and in consequence of His absolute perfection finally accomplished in death, He was not only an intercessor but the very author of eternal salvation.

But there was this difference between ordinary high priests and Christ, that they were imperfect, and therefore had to offer frequent sacrifices for themselves as well as for their people. But Jesus was perfect, and He had not to offer up many sacrifices. It is a mark of the unchangeable nature of His priesthood that He ever liveth to make intercession for us (vii: 25); and as a preliminary He offered His sacrifice "once for all," when He offered up Himself (vii: 27). Every high priest, the author repeats, was appointed to offer up sacrifices. As, then, Christ is a high priest, He must have a sacrifice to offer. It was the sacrifice of the new covenant foretold in Jeremiah. The old covenant had its ritual, divinely instituted for a time, and the death of the victim was an essential part of that ritual. But this could not effect a perfect change in the worshipper. Christ, however, did offer a perfect sacrifice, the effect of which was complete. "Christ, through His own blood entered in once for all into the holy place having obtained eternal redemption" (ix: 12). It was the blood of Christ which cleansed men's consciences from dead works to serve the living God (ix: 14); gave them, that is, not only the effect of the atonement as regards the past, but also the power of a redeemed life for the future.

In this connection stress is laid not only on the offering of the will, on which great stress *is* laid in the tenth chapter, but also on the actual death—or should we not rather say on the obedience which could only be perfected in the death. The absolute offering completed by

death was necessary both in the old covenant, and in the new covenant. "According to the law, I may almost say, all things are cleansed by blood, and apart from shedding of blood there is no remission." In eighteen consecutive verses the words "death," "die," or "blood," (*i. e.,* the blood which is poured out after death) occur no less than fifteen times.

And, all through, the sacrifice of Christ in death is put forward as the great reality of which the sacrifices of the Jewish law, involving the death of the victim, were but partial anticipations, and foreshadowings.

Finally, in the tenth chapter the argument is concluded when the absolute eternal nature of the sacrifice of our Lord is described as that offering of the will which in the fortieth Psalm is foretold as the eternal offering, far more effective than any offering of animal sacrifice could be. This will, with which we have the closest possible connection has, the writer says, actually resulted in our becoming holy, through the offering of Christ's body, not only of His will (x: 10).

The great St. Bernard has left us the phrase *"non mors sed morientis sponte voluntas"*—not merely the death but the freewill of Him who died of His own choice. That phrase is in accordance with the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with the second chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Philippians ("was obedient unto death, even the death of the cross") and with St. John (x: 17). "Therefore doth my Father love me because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." The sacrifice would have no moral and spiritual effect had it not been voluntary. But it had to be not only voluntary but also complete—unto death. There stands the uniqueness and perfectness of the sacrifice: "He, when He had offered one sacrifice forever, sat down on the right hand of God" (x: 12). His eternal high priesthood began with the ascension, but depended for its validity on the sacrifice consummated on the cross.

The effect was to be an instinctive seeking after righteousness on men's side, and the blotting out of past sins and iniquities by God. The effect was complete. "Where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin."

It was Jesus himself who, that He might sanctify the people through His blood, had suffered without the gate (xiii: 12). Thus alone might "the God of peace *who brought again from the dead* the great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the eternal covenant, make them perfect in every good work to do His will, through Jesus Christ."

How wonderfully full, then, is this epistle of the place which the death of our blessed Lord has in the work of redemption. It has been called "the Epistle of the Priesthood" by the present Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. And the main part of it is taken up with the work of our Lord as priest, nay as high priest. He as high priest liveth to make intercession for us, and always sympathizes with us in our struggles as much as anyone who was merely a human priest could. But the ground of His intercession is not only the unique relation that He has to God,—His sonship, which put Him in essence above even the angels. It was rather the perfect sacrifice of body, mind, and spirit which He offered to the bitter end—the death on the cross. This idea appears in no less than eleven out of the thirteen chapters of the epistle.

There are two points with which I would conclude. First, are we not at times being drawn away from giving the proper emphasis that we should to the death of our Lord? We think of the wonder of His incarnation—that He was absolutely divine. We think of His perfect humanity, as perfect as is His Deity. We think of many of the traits of His character, of the care He had for the bodily needs of men, which He showed in feeding or in healing them; and for their spiritual needs, when He spoke words of pardon and peace. We think of the

beautiful ideals that He puts before us in the Sermon on the Mount, and particularly, nowadays, of the implications which follow from them in international, political, social and economic duties. Do we put forward equally the true relation of man to God (not only to his neighbor) as being the primary, even though not the only, factor in the kingdom of God—the one from which all the others will flow? And do we think frequently about, and teach diligently the position which is occupied by that restored relationship of God to man by the perfect offering of Christ to God, partially in His perfect life, and completely in the perfect offering of His will in the death, which came upon Him with such pain and shame and ignominy, and needed the absolute response of His will to the Father's will to enable Him to go through it?

Secondly, the Epistle to the Hebrews was called into existence by a particular set of circumstances. The Hebrew Christians were not very numerous; they were politically unimportant. As the first generation since Pentecost ended, the victory had obviously not been won for Christ. Even among the Christians, some were getting indifferent about the meetings of the Christian brotherhood, in which as brethren redeemed together by Christ, they should have helped each other spiritually. And there was a national feeling rising against the Romans, binding the Jews solidly together. The Christian Hebrews had a difficult position. Their non-Christian fellow-countrymen said to them: "Why are you standing out from this great national movement? Your own body is small. Ours is far larger. It has its fine ritual in our beautiful temple, the institution of which goes right down into the roots of our national life, and is bound up with all our history. Your teacher Jesus led a beautiful life; we acknowledge that. But that is not sufficient to keep you away from us. Join in our great movement; we want to be moral, as you do; and give up those doctrines which separate you from us. Return to our national religion." The Epistle to the Hebrews is the

answer which God guided its author to give. "The nature of Christ and His work both on earth and in heaven makes such a suggestion impossible. He is not merely like one of the great religious teachers through whom God spoke in time past. His nature is essentially different. He is the eternal Son, and He has offered the eternal sacrifice for us, and we can draw near to Him as our high priest and through Him to God the Father. There is no means of redemption and access to God at all comparable to that. It is impossible for us to give up this unique relation and benefit. We must be ready to die rather than do so."

That same loyalty to Christ has been shown in China and other eastern countries of late years. We cannot be too thankful for the steadfastness of some unto death. But am I not right in thinking that to many an Asiatic Christian at the present time a suggestion is being made similar to that which was made to the Hebrews in the first century, the suggestion that a national approach to spiritual matters is more important than the essentially Christian approach? The answer is the same now as it was then. Much as every true Christian must want to do and suffer for his country, much as he is bound to feel what he considers her wrongs and sufferings, the greatest benefit he can bestow on the world and on his fellow-countrymen is being true to the Son of God, the great high priest who offered the one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the *whole world,* and who is therefore above all merely national distinctions. We in our relation to Him have what is the most valuable possession that a man can bestow on his own country or on any one's else—something that is far more precious even than political freedom. Let us be ourselves true, and let us incessantly urge others to be true, to the One who has made the eternal sacrifice, and who at God's right hand looks down with sympathetic eyes on the difficulties of every nation and of every individual in this world.

Natal, South Africa. BISHOP G. FERGUSON-DAVIE.

MOSLEM WOMEN IN THE CAPITAL OF PERSIA

In the fall of 1928, Moslem women of Teheran attained a degree of freedom they had never known before. Late in the summer the Chief of Police appeared with his wife at a café in one of the crowded summer resorts in the foothills a few miles north of the city. Instantly this act was interpreted as permission for veiled ladies to appear in public with men; what the wife of the Chief of Police had done, other women might do with impunity. Heretofore when men and women went out together, the lady marched ahead or trailed at a respectable distance behind her lord. Custom, rigidly followed, which was enforced by the police to such an extent that it was recognized as law, forbade men and women to ride together in the public carriages (*droshkys*); if women drove alone, the hood of the carriage was put up in order to screen the occupant. But within a few weeks after the Chief of Police drank tea with his veiled wife in public, it was a common thing to see men and women walking side by side on the street, or driving together in public carriages as Europeans drive. Together they went to certain cafés and even attended the cinema at the same time, though sitting in different sections. A famous Moslem woman singer, much in demand for private entertainments, gave a public concert, entirely unveiled before an audience composed largely of Persian men. Police were stationed around the room where the concert was held, and a special force guarded the building to prevent any possible outbreak, but no demonstration of disrespect was forthcoming.

The prospective unveiling of women became the talk

of the town. The street dress of the Moslem women of Persia is the *chaddur,* a black sheet of silk, alpaca or sateen, which is drawn up over the head and completely envelops the figure. In addition, in the smaller cities and villages, the women wear a white cloth over the face with a bit of openwork embroidery in front of the eyes. In the larger cities, the *peche,* a small black square of woven horsehair, takes the place of the face cloth. Unveiling meant abandoning the *chaddur* and appearing with uncovered face in European dress in public. Two or three women and half a dozen school girls, with the consent of their families, had the courage to do this. Six months earlier they would have been considered offenders against public morality, and probably would have been arrested and forced to resume Moslem dress, but in the fall of 1928 this momentous event aroused no opposition and created no public sensation. Repeatedly we heard that at the approaching New Year (March 21st) there would be a universal unveiling.

Then came the revolution in Afghanistan, of peculiar interest to the Persians not only because the Afghans are next-door neighbors but because of the recent visit of the Ameer to Persia, on his return from Europe. Progressive Persians had been following his reforms with keen attention. But now all were emphatically agreed that the Ameer went too fast. "We," said the Persians, "must proceed more slowly if we wish to avoid a revolution in our own country." Talk of the general unveiling was dropped, and up to the present (January, 1930) has not been resumed. That emancipation will take place in the not far distant future no one seems to doubt, but the eager anticipation has faded away. When unveiling does come, it will not be compulsory, and doubtless many of the older generation will never change their costume.

In the meantime, here and there, an adventurous woman drops the *chaddur* finally and forever. Several women have returned from Europe and have not resumed Moslem dress. It is said that many women go out in

the evening unveiled. Most significant of all for the future is the fact that many girls have passed the age of eight and nine and have even entered their teens without ever putting on the *chaddur;* this is of course, the most desirable way—to grow naturally into freedom. The social privileges mentioned in the opening of this article continue, and in private life women feel the loosening of restraint in meeting male relatives. Moslem law and custom have long decreed that women must veil before all males except father, brother, nephew, husband, son, and father-in-law. For some time, especially in the evening social events of Ramazan, the month of fasting, large family gatherings have been popular,—men and women, boys and girls, uncles, aunts, cousins, all the tribe together, getting acquainted and enjoying one another's company in a way which would have been quite impossible a few years ago.

If most Teheran women still wear the veil, they make little attempt to keep their features concealed behind it. They rejoice in *chaddurs* as short as the modern skirts underneath them; they glory in flesh-colored hose and high-heeled slippers. At least fifty per cent. of the women and girls of the better class in the capital have bobbed hair, while the shortened *peche* reveals the fact that powder and lip-stick are as popular here as in other countries.

When the auto-bus first came into use, women were obliged to sit together in one section, as had always been the custom in the ancient little tram cars. Now women sit anywhere in the busses without regard to men passengers. Before the advent of the automobile, travel in Persia was difficult for everybody, particularly women. Women could not ride in post carriages with strange men, and the stops at tea houses and road stations were most difficult for women to negotiate. Pilgrimages were accomplished under conditions so trying to women that one would not readily dispute whatever merit they claimed as a result! Now women travel all over the country with

ease. Not only do the cheaper auto rates encourage frequent journeyings, but the speedier methods do away with much of the exposure and inconvenience of the pre-motor days.

Nothing contributes more definitely and substantially to the progress of Persian women than the steadily increasing demand for education for girls. With the marriage age in the larger centers advancing from the early to the later teens, girls have opportunity to go to school, and are eager for education. At present no girls' school is giving more than a twelve-year course of study, with the exception of the American Girls' School in Teheran, which is offering a few college courses. But the three Middle Schools of eleven grades and the Girls' Normal School are well attended. The Ministry of Education gives the following as the most recent statistics:

Number of government schools for girls in Teheran	13
" " private schools for girls in Teheran	47
" " girls in all schools in Teheran	8,830
" " government schools for girls in the provinces	60
" " private schools for girls in the provinces	98
" " girls in all schools in the provinces	7,498

These figures do not include 9,732 girls learning at least to read and write in the little *maktab-khanehs* of the country.

While these figures show Teheran to be the center of education for girls, and force recognition of the fact that the girls of the provinces are not yet getting the chance for study to which they are entitled, it is encouraging to learn that there are now seventy-six more schools for girls in Persia than there were three years ago.

Girls are clamoring for the right to be included in the quota of students sent each year by the government to Europe or England for higher education, but as yet the government is not willing to grant this request. A very few young women have studied abroad, and two, unveiled, are practising medicine in Teheran.

Employment for women who cannot mingle with men is of necessity greatly restricted. For the servant classes, work in the women's quarters of the household is not

difficult to find. But what is there for a girl of some education and great ambition? Almost nothing. A limited number find employment as teachers in the girls' schools. Women of course practise midwifery, and since this activity has come under government control, more are taking the three-year course given in the government hospital for women, under the direction of the French woman physician in charge.

And what is the part of Christian women in these changes? Their contribution is not conspicuous, for the number of Christian women is small. But among the first to unveil in Teheran were several Christian school girls. One staunch soul in Isfahan refused to allow her girls ever to put on the *chaddur;* and this was several years ago, when there were no signs of the new freedom. To queries of the police, she replied with utmost candor, "We are Christians; why should my daughters cover their faces?" As Christ's kingdom spreads in Persia, we know that among His followers there will be found true-hearted women who will work with love and patience and sacrifice to lead their sisters out into that perfect freedom which is Christ's gift to all humanity, yes, even to Moslem women.

Teheran, Persia. ANNIE STOCKING BOYCE.

THE DRUZES OF THE LEBANON

The Druzes of the Lebanon trace their ancestry back to an Arab tribe called the Banu Himyar, which in pre-Islamic days exercised an undisputed preëminence over those around them in the Yemen. During the reign of King Chosroes I. in Persia, to whom they paid a yearly tribute, some unusually severe exaction led to a revolt. In the ensuing war neither side gained a decisive victory, but shortly after, the Banu Himyar, together with all the Arab tribes which were in any way connected with or dependent on them, migrated to Iraq.

After a long residence in those parts they separated, some establishing themselves near Mosul, while twelve tribes occupied a district called Ma'arra, in the neighborhood of Aleppo. About the time of the appearance of Mohammed, the tribes who had gone to Mosul joined their relatives at Aleppo. Of these the most conspicuous were the Banu Tanukh and the Banu Rabi'a, the former a branch of the Banu Himyar. From these arose the two great feudal houses of the Tanukh and Ma'n, which afterwards held almost independent sway in the Lebanon.

Two centuries later an incident occurred which led to a further migration. An officer of the government of Aleppo, who had been sent to collect some dues, assaulted one of the women of the tribes and was promptly slain by the Emir. Fearing the vengeance of the Governor, the Emir lost no time in collecting his family, with whom he fled to Kesruan, a district on the coast of Syria between Maamaltein and the Dog River. His tribe, however, were summoned to answer for his action; several were thrown into prison, and an enormous sum was demanded by way of compensation. The Emirs of the other tribes

collected the money and paid it. In the following year, whether influenced by this event or no is not clearly ascertained, several of the tribes moved in the direction of Mount Lebanon. This was in 821 A. D. The northern parts of the mountains were in the hands of the Maronites. The southern parts, comprising the mountains inland from the stretch of coast between Beyrout and Sidon, were naked, barren and for the most part depopulated.

The leader of this emigration was the Emir Fowaris Tanukh. The Banu Arslan and the Banu Shweizan were next in importance. Entering the mountains from the direction of the modern village of Zahle, they occupied the high grounds above the sources of the rivers Suffa and Barook. At the former the Banu Shweizan built the village of 'Ain Zehalte. The Banu Tanukh and Banu Arslan raised the village of 'Ain Dara. And of them the whole land was overspread. In later history the Tanukhs made their capital at 'Abeih, the Arslans at Shweifat, while from the Banu Shweizan are descended the house of 'Abdul Malik with its headquarters at Btatir and Bhamdun.

This Arab ancestry is the boast of the Druzes of the Lebanon, and they claim to talk a very pure form of Arabic. The fact of their having been stationed at Ma'arra near Aleppo, that is, at a place outside Arabia, at the time of the rise and expansion of Islam, may account in part for their later forsaking that religion for their present one. Islam had come to them from without. They had not been in touch with the founder of the Faith, nor had they taken part in that stupendous burst of conquest which succeeded to his death. Islam had been adopted by them possibly more because it was the fashion of the day than from deep-seated conviction. Their proximity to Persia during their wanderings may likewise have prepared their minds to adopt ideas from the field of Zoroastrianism in religion, as it led them to adopt a system of feudalism in politics.

In order to understand the environment out of which

the doctrines of the Druze religion arose, it will be helpful to consider the work and teaching of the adherents of the sect of the Isma'ilians. The Isma'ilians are the branch of the Imamites who hold that there have been only seven Imams known to the world. Isma'il was the son of the sixth Imam, Ja'far as-Sâdiq. One day he was found drunk, and his father in wrath passed the Imamship on to his brother. But some of the party would have none of this. They claimed that Isma'il's drunkenness was proof of his greater spirituality of mind; he did not follow the face-value of the law (*zahr*) but its hidden meaning (*batn*). Drunkenness was only the outward and visible sign of spiritual intoxication.

In the early part of the third century of the Hijra there lived in Jerusalem a Persian oculist named Maymun. He was a man of high education and no beliefs. He understood the times, and trained his son 'Abdallah carefully for a career.

'Abdallah had thought of adopting the rôle of a prophet, but, considering the time was not ripe, decided on a far vaster and more ambitious scheme. It was to bring about the universal dominion of his descendants, and to overthrow Islam and Arab rule. It succeeded, says Professor Macdonald, in part, very nearly absolutely.

The Arabic author Nuwairi has left us an account of 'Abdallah's system, which he obtained from a work composed by a contemporary of 'Abdallah's grandson, and a descendant of Ja'far as-Sâdiq himself.

The central doctrine is that there is a hidden Imam, who speaks to men through his messengers or Da'is. These Da'is move about among men, looking for likely disciples, stimulating their curiosity or superstition with tales of hidden mysteries only to be revealed to those whose souls are awakened. They ask such questions as, "Who are Gog and Magog, Hârut and Mârut? What are the seven doors of hell, and the eight gates of heaven? What is the meaning of *alif lam mim,* etc., at the beginnings of Suras of the Koran? Why did God make

the earth in six days, when He could have made it in a moment?" They are all things to all men: to the Shi'ites a Shi'ite, to the Sunnis a Sunnite, to the Jews a Jew, to the Christians a Christian, with an esoteric doctrine of the Holy Spirit, to unbelievers an unbeliever. Each disciple is sworn to the utmost secrecy before being initiated into any of the Grades, and has to pay a fee according to his station as a proof of his sincerity. This is the first stage. In the second stage he is taught that true knowledge can only come through the Imam.

In the third grade he learns that there must be seven Imams, as there are seven planets, seven climates, seven heavens, seven days of the week, etc. The last Imam is Muhammad al-Habib, the son of Isma'il, for Isma'il himself died during his father's lifetime.

Fourthly, as there are seven Imams, so there are seven prophets, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed and Isma'il. Each prophet has been entrusted with the preaching of a new religion, abrogating those before it. The prophet is also called a *Nâtiq* or speaker, and he has a special companion or *Sus,* who is to transmit his doctrines to men, and succeed him after his death. The companion of Adam was Seth; of Noah, Shem; of Abraham, Ishmael; of Moses, Aaron; of Jesus, Simon Safa; of Mohammed, 'Ali. The *Sus* in each case is the first of seven Mutes, or persons who must hand on the religion without changing it. The Mutes since Mohammed, the founder of Islam, have been the Imams.

Thus in this stage the disciple has renounced Islam, for he has rejected Mohammed as the seal of the Prophets, and put in his place Isma'il.

In the fifth grade the aspirant is instructed in the use of numbers, the nature of the elements, the formation of the earth, the virtues of the planets and other abstruse doctrines. Moral commands and religious ceremonies are to be explained allegorically.[1]

1 For the use made of numbers cf. Plato's Republic, 587b-588a, where Plato is caricaturing the Pythagoreans.

Next he is bidden to rank philosophers above prophets, for in his exalted state he has outgrown the need of religion.

Seventhly, it is pointed out that Muhammad al-Habib is the *Sus* of Isma'il, and that everything is created in pairs. This paves the way for the doctrine of Dualism.

Eighthly, as among men there must be a founder and a receiver of any new truth, so in the godhead there are two Beings, the Pre-existent and the Second, who is created by Him out of His own substance. The Pre-existent formed all substances, the Second gave them shape and made out of them compound substances. Further, the Pre-existent has received his existence from a superior Being, who has neither name nor attribute, nor ought any to speak of him or presume to render him worship.

In the final stage the initiate learns that there is no God, no law, no religion, and that the universe is eternal.

Such was the system which found expression through the mouth of 'Abdallah b. Maymun, and sought to dominate the world in the tenth century of our era—a syncretistic mixture of Neo-Platonism, Zoroastrianism, alchemy, astrology, Kabalism and Nihilism, the unholy brood of a union of Greek philosophy with Indian and Persian occultism.

Let us turn from it to history. 'Abdallah himself had had to flee to Salamîa, where he died, and went to his own place. But in 289 (902) his grandson Sa'id appeared in North Africa under the name 'Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi, the alleged descendant of 'Ali and Muhammad b. Isma'il. The way had been prepared for him by his friend Abu 'Abdallah, who had fomented revolt among the Berber tribes, and got most of the country into his own power. Sa'id was suspected by the authorities and thrown into prison at Sigilmassna. Abu 'Abdallah marched to his rescue, captured the town, set him free and had him saluted as Amir al Mu'minin and al-Mahdi. Thus was the Fâtimid dynasty founded. It must have been an awkward position to be at the same time ruler

of a population fanatically Moslem and head of a conspiracy to destroy that religion.

However, the plan prospered. 'Ubayd Allah's great-grandson conquered Egypt, and his grandson al-Hâkim bi-Amr Illah was the notorious Khalifa in Cairo who is regarded by the Druzes as the ninth and last manifestation of God himself in human form.

Al-Hâkim was born in 375 A. H., and came to the throne in 386. He was then barely twelve years of age, yet one of his first acts was to allow his attendant to murder the Regent because he thwarted his boyish pleasures. The act was carried out one day while they were going for a walk, and the fearlessness exhibited by Hâkim at this tender age is adduced as a proof of his divinity. It would appear that while Hâkim was the head of the sect, he was not among the highest of its initiates; indeed it may be possible to trace throughout his career the steps of his initiation, thereby discovering a clue to a life of almost insane caprice and variability. In the beginning he was strongly Moslem and Shi'a. In the year 395 he issued large pieces of parchment containing anathemas written in letters of gold against 'Aisha, Abu Bakr, 'Omar and 'Othman, which he caused to be stuck up on the outside and inside of all the mosques. He abolished public prayer and the Khutba on Fridays, stopped the pilgrimage to Mekka, broke the fast of Ramadan on the last day, and released his subjects from the payment of alms and the war against infidels. Christians were murdered wholesale. Others were compelled to wear blue-colored garments with black turbans, and to carry crosses a foot long suspended from their necks. Jews had to wear yellow garments, and to attach to their necks round blocks of wood, to resemble the head of the calf which they worshipped in the wilderness. Such repressive measures produced many converts.

In the year 400, hearing from a monk that in Jerusalem the Greek clergy used to make an artificial flame in the body of the Sepulchre and call it the descent of fire

from heaven, he immediately sent an order to the governor of Jerusalem to destroy the Church of the Resurrection. The destruction was not confined to that church, but became so widespread that during the next five years five hundred churches and monasteries are said to have been destroyed.

Hâkim's progress in the doctrines of the Isma'ilians was probably due to certain of their missionaries who came to his court. The most important of these is Hamza, the real founder of the religion of the Druzes. But the man who gave his name to the sect is a certain Nashtakîn Darazi, himself a disciple of Hamza. These two so played upon Hâkim's natural vanity that they induced him to proclaim himself a manifestation of God upon earth. Darazi was rash enough to announce the doctrine in the grand mosque of Cairo. The people rushed upon him, and would have massacred him on the spot had he not sought safety in flight. Hâkim hesitated to take his part openly but facilitated his departure, supplied him with large sums of money, and instructed him to proceed to the mountains of Syria and spread the doctrines which he had espoused. Darazi departed, and in 1020 arrived in the Wady Tame, above the sources of the Jordan. A footing thus gained, correspondence was opened with Cairo, by means of which Hamza was enabled to promulgate his views. The work of conversion went steadily on, and in ten years' time the Arab tribes which inhabited the Lebanon had mostly adopted an outward profession of the new faith, while a class set apart had been further initiated into the mysteries promulgated by Hamza. In spite of his being the means whereby the Druzes were led to adopt their new religion, Darazi himself is anathematized by them on account of his setting himself up in independence of Hamza, and it is a singular instance of the irony of fate that it is by his name that they are known to the world.

The doctrine of Hâkim's divinity, though rejected by the citizens of Cairo, had a beneficial effect on those he

had formerly persecuted. Since with God there is no respect of persons, Hâkim considered it inconsistent with his divine claims to patronize one creed more than another. A firman was issued restoring to the Christians their churches and monasteries. Those who had embraced Islam were allowed to return to their former faith, a privilege of which in one week six thousand availed themselves.

One day, to avenge himself for an insult which had been offered him by means of a trick, he let loose his Turkish soldiers on the city, and for three days it was given over to fire and pillage. Such a tyrant could not last long. His end is obscure. All that is known for certain is that he went out early one morning for a ride on the Moqattam hills. Before starting he told his mother that that day he would run a great risk, but that if he escaped, the stars promised him a life of eighty years. Reaching the Mount of Karáfa he drew up, and looked intently for some moments at the starry firmament. "We all belong to God," he said, "and to Him shall we return." Then suddenly striking his hands together he exclaimed, "Thou hast appeared then, fatal sign." Here history drops the veil. It is certain he never returned to Cairo, and it is generally believed that he was murdered by the orders of his sister, with whom he was on bad terms. The Druzes say he went up to heaven and they expect his return to this day.

For our knowledge of the Druze religion we are indebted to manuscripts which have been plundered from Druze *khilwas,* or meeting houses. In the year 1700 a Syrian doctor named Nasrallah b. Gilda took from the house of the Chief 'Aqil at Baaklin, Sheikh Nasr-al-Din, the manuscripts of the Druze religion, which are now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. These comprise four volumes, containing seventy treatises, and are entitled "The Book of the Testimonies to the Mysteries of the Unity." They were translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix in 1701. There are other MSS in the li-

braries at the Vatican, Vienna, Leyden, and in the Bodleian at Oxford. In 1828 Baron Sylvestre de Sacy wrote his "Exposé de la Religion des Druzes," to which Colonel Churchill, in his book "Mount Lebanon," and Canon Sell both acknowledge their indebtedness.

The first article of the Druze creed is the Unity of God. Unity involves the absence of all differentiation. It is a bare unity of Essence, devoid of attributes (for, according to the Druzes, God's Intelligence, Will, Justice, Word are created beings). Thus God is, as in the system of Plotinus, above knowledge and beyond being. He cannot be described, nor can He be said to be this, that or the other. He is absolutely unknowable. He is, in fact, what Eckhart calls the Godhead, as distinct from God.

But God has graciously deigned to reveal Himself to man in human form. How this is possible for an unknowable God, or whether such an action does not involve a duality in the nature of God, is not explained. Suffice it to say that such manifestation has occurred nine different times. The names of the persons by whom the Deity was clothed upon are—Al-Bar, Abu Zachariah, Al-Ya, Mu'ill, Qa'im, Mansur, Mu'izz, 'Aziz, Hâkim. All these, with the exception of the first, are posterior to the time of Mohammed, and the last five are our friend Hâkim and his immediate ancestors and predecessors in the Fatimid dynasty. But note carefully that these personages do not constitute the humanity of the Deity for the time being. The humanity of God is eternal, coeval with His divinity. For did He not make Adam in His own image—i. e., the image of His humanity? The human figures under which the Lord appeared are merely the places or envelopes of His manifestation. Hamza likens it to the manner in which God spoke to Moses from the burning bush or to the image of a person in a mirror. The purpose of these manifestations was to assure mankind of his existence. The most perfect was the last, in the guise of al-Hâkim.

The next article of the Faith is to know the Ministers of Religion and to accord to each his due rank. These Ministers resemble the emanations of Neoplatonism, or the Archons or Aeons of the Gnostic sects. No consistent account is obtainable of their creation, but the simplest runs as follows: Hamza writes,

"Thus our Lord produced from his glorious light the Universal Intelligence. From the light of the Intelligence he produced the Soul; from the light of the Soul, the Word; from the light of the Word, the Preceding; from the light of the Preceding, the Following; and from the light of the Following he has produced the earth and all that it contains: the spheres which make their circular revolutions, the twelve signs of the zodiac, the four elements, and matter, which is the fifth element."

The reasons which led to their creation are of interest. Mind (or Universal Intelligence) had free will, and was capable of both good and bad. For a time he was good. Then, because of the honor shown him by the Most High, he regarded himself with complacency and decided to become independent. Whereupon, out of the good qualities of Mind the Creator produced four bad qualities—rebellion, darkness, pride, ignorance—and constituted the Devil. This was the origin of Evil. Whereupon Mind repented, and asked for a helper against the Devil. The Lord heard his prayer and created Soul. Then Mind and Soul both approached the Devil, Mind from behind and Soul from in front, and attempted to marshal him into the presence of the Creator. But the Devil, being unguarded on either flank, evaded them. So the Word was produced from Intelligence, and the Preceding from Soul (notice the discrepancy with the former account), and they hemmed him in on the right and left. The devil feared to go upward lest he should meet the Creator, and when he attempted to escape downwards, either he succeeded and so sank into the earth and founded hell, or, according to another account, his way was blocked by Following—the last of the Ministers.

The Druzes believe that at the creation of this world all things were formed in the state in which they now appear. The souls of mankind were created after the creation of Intelligence, being formed out of its light, and their number is fixed, the number of men being equal to the number of women save for the five Ministers. They hold the doctrine of transmigration of souls, the soul of a Unitarian (as they call themselves) passing into the figure of a Unitarian, and the soul of a polytheist into the figure of a polytheist. There is no transmigration from the bodies of men into those of animals.

Man himself is composed of three parts. Two of

these are substances, the intelligence and the soul, the third, namely matter, is an "accident." The human "intelligence" in the Druze psychology seems to me to resemble the *intellectus agens* of Aristotle as expounded by Alexander of Aphrodisias. It is not a part of our soul, but comes to us from without. It is the bearer of emanations from the Universal Intelligence, to which the soul of man can attach itself and so become noble. If on the other hand the soul concerns itself solely with the sensations which come to it through the body, it becomes debased. The soul of man can choose between these alternatives, and so has free-will. Indeed the Druzes have given to their religion the name of Justice, on account of this belief in free-will, for they say that it is the only one compatible with the justice of God in allotting rewards and punishments.

Accompanying each of the appearances of the Creator upon earth there were also appearances of the five Ministers. In the days of al-Hâkim they had the following names:

Universal Intelligence	Hamza b. Ahmad al-Hadi
Universal Soul	Isma'il b. Muhammad Tamimi
The Word	Muhammad b. Wahab
The Preceding	Salama b. 'Abd al-Wahab
The Following	Muktana al-Baha ad-Din

The earlier books come mainly from Hamza and Tamimi, while the later ones are the work of Baha ad-Din. Shortly after the disappearance of Hâkim, Hamza himself had to go into hiding, but from his place of seclusion he kept up a correspondence with the other ministers and worked out the philosophy of his new religion.

As the religion grows, the importance of Hamza in his own eyes grows with it—a phenomenon not unknown in other religions. In a letter entitled "The Cause of Causes" he thus speaks of himself,

"It belongs to me to correct man . . . for I am the Chosen of the Lord. He formed me out of his brilliant light, before there existed place or power, or genii or men, that is to say seventy generations before he created Adam the Rebellious and Adam the Forgetful; each of these generations consisting of seventy weeks and each week of seventy

years, and each year equal to 1,000 years as at present counted. Throughout all these generations there is no epoch in which I have not called the creature to the confession of the Unity of the Lord Most High."

And in the treatise entitled "Advice and Warning" he writes,

"Praise to him who has created me out of his light . . . I am the way and the truth. I am he who knows his will. I am the mountain (i. e., Sinai, because he is the universal mediator and intercessor); the written book (because it is to him that men must give account); the inhabited house (because he is the *Qibla* of Unitarians); I am the master of the last trumpet. I am he who abrogates all preceding laws and who exterminates the disciples of polytheism and falsehood . . . I am the Messiah of nations; through me all grace flows."

One of the main tenets of the Druze religion is that Hâkim will return to reign in triumph on the earth. "Lift up your eyes," says Baha ad-Din, in a letter addressed to Constantine VIII, Emperor of Constantinople, dated the eleventh year of Hamza (419) "and look on the fields, for they are already white to the harvest, and he that reapeth receiveth wages and gathereth fruit unto life eternal; for the Sign of the Unitarian doctrine has appeared, and the day of its manifestation is at hand."

At that time the Moslems will make an attack on the Church of the Resurrection, and the Christians by way of retaliation will attack the Ka'ba. Then the Ministers will appear from the East, with banners of green, red, white, yellow and blue respectively, each leading a mighty army. The Moslems and Christians will each solicit their help, and will be referred by each Minister to the one behind. Then they will all come to Mekka, where Hâkim will appear from heaven. He will destroy the towns and then he will lead them all to Cairo where the Judgment will take place. The Judgment does not condemn men to heaven or hell, but to the lot of domination or servitude under the rule of Hâkim upon earth. The Druzes will rule, Moslems will be permitted to wait upon them, while Jews and Christians will be assigned to posts of less honor! The latter will have to wear clothes and ear-rings which will be burning hot in summer and freezing in winter. The length of life of the blessed will be one hundred and twenty years, free from

all pain or unpleasantness. There is a book composed by Tamimi called the Canticle of the Soul in which the conquering career of Hâkim and the five Ministers is described in glowing terms. The Druzes delight to read these poems in their meetings. Tamimi's own share is detailed in the following verse:

> Then shall Tamimi's falchion shine
> Flashing on all below;
> With guiltless wrath the Soul divine
> Shall strike down every foe.

Certain souls of the Believers which have attained to a perfect union with the truths emanating from the Universal Intelligence are no longer incarnate in bodies, but await the Second Coming in the abode of light, and will reappear in the retinue of Hâkim.

It is popularly believed that the Druzes are a sect of Moslems. Color is lent to the idea by the fact that a Druze is allowed to profess outwardly the religion of the people among whom he lives, so long as he holds to the Unitarian doctrines in his heart. The truth is, however, that they are bidden to renounce Islam along with every other religion than their own.

"Society of Unitarians," writes Hamza, "my object in writing this letter is to expose to you the destruction of the whole law, by taking its fundamental precepts, one after the other, both in their literal and allegorical signification." He commences with the Mohammedan profession of faith—There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah—and by allegories and reasoning founded on the number of words and letters which enter into this formula, and their relations with the planets, months, and signs of the zodiac, Hamza finds in it the hierarchy of the Unitarian religion. So he bids his followers disregard both the Sunnite and Shi'a use of the creed, both the Tanzîl and the Ta'wil, the orthodox outward profession and the allegorical interpretations of the Batinites. The Moslem precepts in regard to Prayer, Almsgiving, Fasting, the Pilgrimage, and the war against

infidels he shows were abrogated by the actions of al-Hâkim. Finally, the duty of submission to legitimate authority is also declared to be vain and nugatory when interpreted to imply submission either to the Khulafa or to Ali.

In place of these seven commandments which he has abrogated Hamza substitutes seven others. They are as follows: Truth in word. To watch reciprocally over the safety of the brethren. To renounce wholly and entirely whatever religion may have been previously professed. To keep apart from all who are in error. To recognize the existence of the Unity of our Lord in all ages, times and epochs. To be satisfied with his will and his works. To resign oneself to his orders.

These commandments require a little elucidation. Truth in word has two significations: to make profession of the dogmas of the Unitarian religion; and never to deceive the brethren. Outside the fold truth is a matter of politeness, but is not obligatory, particularly if it would endanger the safety of the Unitarian.

The command to renounce every other religion might be taken to imply an open renunciation, and during Hâkim's lifetime that may have been the rule. But later, when persecution arose, Hamza from his place of retreat issued other instructions. Not only were the Unitarians permitted to profess outwardly the religion of the people among whom they dwelt, but they were forbidden to attempt to make any more converts. The door of God's mercy was closed. Henceforth the strictest secrecy must be preserved, and the books of the mysteries guarded from every eye but those of the initiate.

The attitude of Druzes towards Christianity may be illustrated by some quotations from their catechism.

Q. What is our object when we eulogise the Gospel?

A. Our object is to glorify the name of Qa'im bi-amr Illah, who is the same as Hamza, for it is he who dictated the Gospel. Moreover we are obliged before men, whoever they may be, to approve of the religion which they profess. But besides that, the Gospel is founded on divine wisdom and, in its allegorical sense and meaning, typifies the Unitarian religion.

The Gospel is true because it contains the word of the True Messiah, who in the time of Mohammed bore the name of Salman al-Farsi, and who is Hamza son of Ali. The false Messiah is he who was born of Mary, for he is the son of Joseph.[2]

Q. Where was the true Messiah while the false Messiah was with his disciples?

A. He accompanied him and was of the number of his disciples; he dictated the words of the Gospel, and instructed the Messiah, the son of Joseph, prescribed to him the way in which he should lay down the rules of the Christian religion, and the latter at first received all his instructions with patience and docility, but having at last disregarded his words, the True Messiah inspired the Jews with hatred against him, and they crucified him.

The True Messiah stole his dead body from the grave and gave out that he had risen. Meantime he himself appeared to the disciples.

There are three orders of Druzes, the uninitiated, the 'Uqqal and the Jwayyids. The three orders are open to both men and women. The 'Uqqal are required to abstain from gaudy colors and fashions, from swearing and obscene language, from alcoholic liquors and smoking. They wear a white band round their *tarbush*. The Jwayyids devote their whole lives to religion. They are required to learn the whole six books of Druze religious writings before being admitted to the order. Their dress is made of the simplest materials and most primitive fashion. The coat of the men is made of homespun wool, streaked with broad stripes of white and black.

The initiated gather in their meeting house or *Khalweh* especially on Thursday evenings, for on that night Hâkim disappeared, and on that night he will return. "It is therefore your duty," writes Hamza, "to meet on every evening of Friday and read the books of wisdom which our Lord has left you. You should moreover instruct your sisters in the faith, but let them be secluded from you by a partition, and let them not lift up their voices." These books are probably chanted. Towards the close of the meeting they sing some poems, whose subject is a glowing description of the invasion and subjugation of the world by the Eastern army under the command of the five Ministers. Prayer as such they have not, though they have some forms which they use in pri-

2 In the time of Jesus the true Messiah bore the name Lazarus.

vate if they wish. These meetings include the discussion of politics as well as religion, and the characters of men and events are carefully debated. The 'Uqqal in fact constitute a kind of Senate controlling the Druze community.

The customs of the Druzes resemble those of the peoples around them for the most part. They are like the Christians in the honor they pay to women, and in the practice of monogamy, but they follow the Moslem rule of veiling.

The test of any religion is the conception that it affords of the character of God. The God of the Druzes is an unknowable Being, except in so far as He reveals himself under the guise of a human form. The manifestation held up to them as the most perfect revelation of the Deity is a character so full of ferocity and caprice that it can only be reconciled with morality by a process of allegorising which leaves the revelation a mere mental abstraction.

The Druzes themselves are of virtuous character in the higher grades, and keep the Law with the strictness of a Pharisee. But it is noticeable that the more educated of the population pay little regard to their religion except as a national bond. With the growth of the habit of seeking one's fortune in America, and the prevalence of smoking, it is difficult to see how the ranks of the 'Uqqal will continue to be replenished, and at the moment it looks as if the religion were in danger of turning into a political sect.

Kingston-on-Thames, England. O. H. THOMPSON.

FROM THE VINEYARD OF ATTAINMENT

[Yakup Kadri Bey, author of the following elegy, is one of the leading modern Turkish authors. Early in life he is believed to have had close relations with the Bektashi order of Dervishes in the vicinity of his home near Smyrna. About eight years ago he published a book, "Nur Baba" in which he claims to reveal the darker side of life in the Bektashi monasteries. "Sodom and Gomorrah," his most recent book, performs the same grimy service for the Allied Army of Occupation, which spent an uneasy four years in Constantinople. His little book, "From the Vineyard of Attainment," consists of a dozen such entreaties as the following, in all of which the disillusion and pessimism of the Bektashi finds beautiful and poignant expression. Those who have attained to a true knowledge of, or come into union with God, have reached the Vineyard of Attainment.—*Translator.*]

* * * * *

Years that are more deceptive than our lovers, and lovers more false than our years! Black fortune a very whirlwind. . . . How one's head reels! Night treads on day, and day on night; cruelty vies with cruelty; the lines on our foreheads beget more lines, and our gray hairs soon give place to white. Resignation is hard, rebellion frightful; will the wheel of fate never have pity? Alas, dear friend, the force which turns that wheel is black fortune's whirlwind.

Wasted are the gardens, empty the nests, the roads obliterated; the whole world has gone to ruin. . . . So speaks the elderly heart now, seeing in everything only its own likeness. This, too, is a delusion. . . . When was the world built up? When did roses blow in the gardens? Did nightingales ever sing in the nests or dear lovers come down the roads?

We hoped, we waited, we dreamed. Was ever one hope fulfilled? Did ever one dream materialize? Were those who came worth our waiting? Which was that blissful and sublime hour to which we cried out, "Do not end! Stay!" Not one, dear friend, never one! Per-

haps all we wanted was that each should end. For each hour was more uncouth, more stupid than the other. Some we met with a teardrop, some with a single groan, some with a mere yawn and some with silence only. All are gone; would you wish them to come again, one by one?

No, no, no; is it not so?

Neither do we wish for the return of even the dearest of our dead. Sheol is a crushing and usurping force. All of us prepare ourselves to meet it. How many creative, valiant spirits have submitted to it in the end. That thinker was right who pictured the world as a dungeon filled with those under sentence of death. For each of us that fatal dawn will break at last; believe me that even now our caravan is taking that road.

Yonder stands the gallows. On this scaffold life closes amid endless tortures. Hence our tears on the day of our birth. "But we laughed, as well," you will say. True; that smile was our token of the heaven we had barely quitted. That faint light from our first homeland remained on our faces. Had we been deprived of this faint light also, we had surely by now been lost and gone in the black darkness of our path; our affliction would have overwhelmed us. Praise God that by it we sometimes seemed almost to distinguish the Good and Beautiful. Often it saved us from the plots of our enemies; would we not meet them by night at every turn of the road?

How they surrounded us one evening, like a gay crowd of friends, laughing, dancing and making music. Do you remember that other day when they appeared to us in the woods in the shape of water-sprites? Hand in hand with them you ran and danced along, and were lost; but that inner light warned me against the nymphs, and I held back. Yet the day came when I was drawn after the voice of mermaids, creatures more destructive than the sprites. When we returned to our places, you

and I, both were pale and spent, and our hearts were utterly empty.

Thus our whole youth was sped. With the fading of that light which smiled from our faces at our birth, vain and cruel fiends began to torment us.

Somehow our dreams never fully satisfied us. They embraced all there is of beauty, why not all truth, as well? We who had loved, who had become intoxicated in the society of the immortals—we found that every act of ours in this vain world of seeming served only to quench that sublime intoxication. Now our hearts are empty and our heads throb. Our mouths are poisonous, our eyes burn, we are disgustingly surfeited—and now more than half the road is behind us, the gray hairs turn to white, and the lines on our foreheads beget more lines still. Trembling lays hold of our hands and knees, and a dismal wind blows up from the horizon before us. Say, what has become of your youth? Tell me, what have I done with mine? Henceforth shall we never again be able to dream? After such a brief and uncouth journey, after so much ugliness, ah! tell me, are those quiet, kindly, fragrant, glowing visions never to refresh our souls again?

That soul has already fled, covered with such crude, worthless images of beasts and demons as one finds carved on the gravestones of a barbarous land.

Istanbul, Turkey. F. LYMAN MACCALLUM.

ABDULLAH
(A Dialogue)

AHMAD. (*a Moslem*) Have you heard the news?

JACOB. (*a Jew*) What news?

AHMAD. About Zaid Effendi.

JACOB. You mean about his marriage? But that was several weeks ago.

AHMAD. No, I mean the accident this morning.

JACOB. I hadn't heard of it. Was it serious?

AHMAD. Serious enough, though fortunately not fatal. He was run over by a taxi, and was taken to the hospital with a broken leg.

JACOB. I am very sorry to hear about that, although I only knew him slightly.

AHMAD. It is very sad that such a good man should have the bad luck of going into hospital so soon after his marriage.

JACOB. Why do you call him such a good man?

AHMAD. Well to begin with he doesn't drink whisky, and he observes Ramadan, and he says his prayers, and has twice been to Mecca.

JACOB. There are many other people I know like that, and yet I would scarcely call them good men.

AHMAD. Oh, but Zaid is really good. He is such a kind-hearted man. For instance the other day he was crossing a narrow bridge where there wasn't room for two people to pass, and an old blind woman carrying a bundle on her head was crossing the bridge from the other direction: so when Zaid saw her he walked back and stood on one side till she had passed.

JACOB. Do you mean to say that he did that for a woman? I call it rather lowering to a man's dignity to get out of the way for a woman.

AHMAD. Not only was she a woman, but she was not even beautiful. She was a ragged, toothless old hag.

JACOB. I think Zaid must be a man of rather weak character to give way like that. I can't think how you can call him a good man for such weakness.

AHMAD. It was not weakness. He was not forced to wait for her, but did it out of courtesy.

JACOB. But all the same he did the easier thing. The strong man asserts himself.

AHMAD. It is true that the strong man asserts himself to defend the right, but it is possible to be both strong and gentle. Another day Zaid was in the tram when a boy selling fancy sweetmeats got on to the tram. One of the passengers on the tram had a walking stick in his hand and hit the poor boy to make him get down, and broke several of his sweetmeats, so that he began to cry. Several people on the tram laughed, but Zaid was so sorry for the boy that he spoke up for him, and told the man he ought to be ashamed of himself. Then the other people in the tram all agreed, and finally the bully was forced to pay the poor boy for the sweetmeats he had broken.

JACOB. Yes, I see now. In both cases Zaid was kind-hearted, helping people in difficulties. I think I understand now why you call him a good man.

AHMAD. Well, if you admit that those actions I have described make Zaid a good man, what would you call a very good man?

JACOB. I suppose a very good man would be a man who was always doing that sort of thing.

AHMAD. In fact always behaving as if he was serving other people?

JACOB. I suppose so, but it sounds funny when you put it like that. The fact is, I don't much like servants; they often cringe to their masters, and then try to cheat them.

AHMAD. That is only if they don't want to be servants. The really good man acts as a servant to men be-

cause he remembers that God is the master of us all. And that is why the name Abdullah is a favorite name among our people.

JACOB. You mean that a man cannot be a good servant to men unless he is a good servant to God?

AHMAD. Precisely.

JACOB. Then this goodness which we were admiring in Zaid must be because he is a good servant of God.

AHMAD. Of course.

JACOB. And I suppose the best servant of God would be the best man.

AHMAD. We often speak in our religion of *al Insan ul kamil* (the perfect man) but it never struck me before today that the perfect man was bound to be a perfect servant.

JACOB. Our prophet Isaiah said something like that hundreds of years ago.

AHMAD. Hundreds of years ago? That is a remarkable thing; and you and I have never thought of it till this evening.

JACOB. No, I never quite understood what he meant.

AHMAD. Well, what did he say?

JACOB. Oh, it's a long story, all about the Servant of the Lord.

AHMAD. Who was the Servant of the Lord?

JACOB. None of us have ever been able to make out. Sometimes it sounds as if the prophet meant our nation. But in other places it seems to be an extraordinary mixture, as if he meant a slave or a king or I don't know what.

AHMAD. That sounds queer. Read it out to me.

JACOB. It begins like this, "Behold my Servant whom I uphold."—(Isa. 42: 1–4.)

AHMAD. Oh yes, a slave, I see.

JACOB. "My chosen, in whom my soul delighteth"——

AHMAD. Evidently God's favorite slave.

JACOB. "I have put my Spirit upon him"——

AHMAD. A prophet too.

JACOB. "He shall bring forth judgment to the nations."

AHMAD. Well, it's quite plain so far. The man was God's favorite slave who was chosen to be a prophet and a preacher.

JACOB. Yes, but you have only heard the beginning yet. "He shall not cry nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench; he shall bring forth judgment in truth."

AHMAD. Why, that's something like Zaid. The old woman on the bridge was like a bruised reed, and if he had pushed her roughly it would have been like breaking a bruised reed. But what's that about judgment?

JACOB. Let me go on reading: "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth, and the isles shall wait for his law." You see he was a lawgiver as well as all those other things, offering justice and judgment to mankind, and even distant islands were waiting longingly for his law.

AHMAD. A fine thing to be appointed a judge like that. So many men become judges in order to make money. How few really desire to see judgment and justice in the earth!

JACOB. It continues: "I, the Lord, have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee." (Isa. 42: 6–7.)

AHMAD. Evidently it was because he was determined to set judgment in the earth that God kept him; as our prophet (the prayers and peace of God be upon him) said "Keep God's commandments, and He will keep thee; keep God's commandments, and thou shalt find Him before thee." Does it say who the people were whom this man was to judge?

JACOB. Yes, it goes on, "I will give thee for a covenant of the people (i. e., the Jews), for a light of the Gentitles (i. e., all the rest of mankind.)"

AHMAD. A world-wide commission!

JACOB. Yes, and this is what he was to do, "to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house."

AHMAD. He seems to have been a doctor and a public benefactor as well. How the people must have welcomed him!

JACOB. That's the strange thing. They seem to have treated him abominably, as you will see from the next piece, which is in his own words, "But I said I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and vanity. Yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my recompense with my God." (Isa. 49: 4.) "The Lord God hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away backward. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not my face from shame and spitting. For the Lord God will help me, therefore have I not been confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed." (Isa. 50: 5–7.)

AHMAD. I never heard of such a thing. There was a man who was doing all he could for other people, and they spat at him, and hit him on the back, and pulled out his hair. But I am sure he was right in putting his trust in God. God would certainly save him from their clutches.

JACOB. You haven't heard the worst they did to him yet: "His visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men." (Isa. 52: 14.) "He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hide their face he was despised, and we esteemed him not." (Isa. 53: 3–11.)

AHMAD. If I had been there I would have esteemed him. I cannot bear to think of a good man suffering so much.

JACOB. "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried

our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted."

AHMAD. Those who thought God had smitten and afflicted him were fools. For we all know that God only smites those who disobey Him.

JACOB. I quite agree with you, but if so, why was it that he suffered at all? Unless it be as the prophet said, "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed."

AHMAD. What does it mean by "our transgressions"? Does it mean the sins of your Jewish ancestors? Were they a very bad lot?

JACOB. I don't think so. I don't think they were any worse than the rest of us. But hear what it says, "All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."

AHMAD. "All we," "every one"; it almost looks as if our sins hurt him. I never thought of my sins hurting anyone except myself. Do you think it is really possible?

JACOB. It is more than possible. For if a good man suffers for the sins of his friends, as we know he does, surely the perfect man must suffer for the sins, not only of his friends and intimate acquaintances, but also of all men.

AHMAD. But what good does it do that another man should suffer when we sin?

JACOB. In the first place it deters me from sin, if I know that my sins bring suffering to my friend.

AHMAD. I suppose that is what it means when it says, "By his stripes ye are healed."

JACOB. I think so; and moreover, you see the idea of forgiveness of sins by the sacrifice of animals was familiar to our Jewish forefathers, and so suggested that suffering was the way for the wiping out of sin. And so we read, "He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and

as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, he opened not his mouth."

AHMAD. Ah, I know what is coming. He was led as a lamb to be slaughtered, and just as the knife was raised to kill him God delivered him, just as God did when Ibrahim was about to sacrifice Ismail.

JACOB. You mean Isaac.

AHMAD. Oh well, whichever you like. Say, "his son."

JACOB. I am afraid you are not right even then, for God did not interpose to save His servant from death. "By oppression and judgment he was taken away; and as for his generation, who among them considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living? For the transgression of my people was he stricken. And they made his grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death; although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth. Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; He hath put him to grief."

AHMAD. No, no, I can't believe that. If a man was as good as that, God would never let him be killed.

JACOB. That is a difficulty I have always felt. It says in one of the Psalms of David, "For He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." (Ps. 91: 11–12.)

AHMAD. Yes, that is what I feel. Surely, if there is a good God He must look after His servants.

JACOB. And yet I am not sure. Consider it this way: suppose there were two men, both like the Servant of the Lord, kind and gentle in spite of persecutions; and one of the two was saved by God just as he was about to be killed, while the other bore the pangs of death and still continued to be kind and gentle. Which would be the better man of the two?

AHMAD. That is rather a difficult question, but I suppose it would be the man who was stedfast even unto death.

JACOB. Then if the Servant of the Lord is the perfect man he must have borne the last extremity of pain.

AHMAD. That is true as far as concerns him. But would it be just on the part of God to allow him to be killed and end his life in shame and disgrace?

JACOB. I forgot, I have not finished reading yet. It goes on like this, "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied." Death is not the end. After his death, the Servant of the Lord lived again, and was satisfied as he looked back on the life of pain he had lived. And I ought to have read you before the verse that says, "Behold my Servant shall deal wisely; he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high." (Isa. 52: 13.)

AHMAD. Yes, I quite admit that God's justice would be saved in that way by giving him his reward in the next life. Your prophet Isaiah has drawn us a remarkable picture of a good man.

JACOB. You think then that the Servant of the Lord was really a good man?

AHMAD. I have never heard a description of a better man. Nor do I believe there could be a better man than one who devoted himself to the service of men as doctor and teacher, as law-giver and prophet, and served them in that way while they persecuted him even unto death.

JACOB. I agree with you. There could be no better man. I wonder whether it is all imagination, or whether there ever was such a man. How could we find out? For my part, if I met him, I would take him as my guide and example.

AHMAD. So, too, would I. But I feel that we need more than an example, and I wonder whether there really is anyone who would lift from us the burden of sin. It may be that our friend Abdul Masih could help us.

JACOB. Let us call him.

(*They call, and* ABDUL MASIH, *a Christian, enters.*)

JACOB. O Abdul Masih, we were talking about the Servant of the Lord, who was spoken of by Isaiah the prophet. Have you ever heard of him?

ABDUL MASIH. Yes, of course. He preached in one of your synagogues one day.

JACOB. In one of our synagogues? He was a real man then?

ABDUL MASIH. Have you never read how he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read? (Mark 4: 16–21.)

AHMAD AND JACOB. (*together*) No, do tell us please.

ABDUL MASIH. There was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor; He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." (Isa. 61: 1.) And he closed the book and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened upon him. And he began to say unto them, Today hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears.

JACOB. Who was this man?

ABDUL MASIH. It was Jesus of Nazareth, who went about doing good, and was approved by God by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him. He was delivered up into the hands of wicked men, who crucified and slew him. But God raised him up, having loosed the pangs of death because it was not possible that he should be held by death. (Acts 2: 22–24.)

AHMAD. Did other people admit his claim to be the Servant of the Lord?

ABDUL MASIH. Not at first, because it was so great a claim, but they did so as soon as they really knew him. One day an Ethiopian eunuch was reading from the book of Isaiah, and the place of the scripture which he was

reading was this, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away; his generation who shall declare? for his life is taken from the earth." (Isa. 53: 7–8.) And Philip, who knew Jesus, was by the Ethiopian's side. So the Ethiopian asked Philip, "I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself or of some other?" And Philip opened his mouth, and beginning from this scripture, preached unto him Jesus. (Acts 8: 34–35.) St. Peter also, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus, preached boldly to the Jews that Jesus was the Servant of the Lord, saying, "The God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified His Servant Jesus; whom ye delivered up, and denied before the face of Pilate, when he had determined to release him. But ye denied the holy and righteous one, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince of Life; whom God raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses." "Unto you first God, having raised up His Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities." (Acts 3: 13–15, 26.) And many of them that heard the word believed, and the number of men came to be about five thousand.

JACOB. Did he do good works like the Servant of the Lord?

ABDUL MASIH. Let me read you what is written in the Gospel according to St. Matthew. "The Pharisees went out, and took counsel against him how they might destroy him. But Jesus perceiving it withdrew from thence; and many followed him, and he healed them all, and charged them that they should not make him known; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, 'Behold my Servant whom I have chosen, my beloved in whom my soul is well pleased; I will put my Spirit upon him, and he shall declare judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry aloud, neither shall any one hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed

shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment to victory. And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.'" (Matt. 12: 14–21.)

AHMAD. When I first heard those words I thought they applied to our good friend Zaid.

ABDUL MASIH. There is only one man who has ever been exactly like the Servant of the Lord, and that is Jesus Christ; but all good people try to follow in his steps, so that the Servant of the Lord is the ideal for us all. That is what St. Peter said in his first Epistle. "Servants, be in subjection to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is acceptable, if for conscience toward God a man endureth grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye sin and are buffeted for it, ye shall take it patiently? But if, when ye do well and suffer for it ye shall take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously; by whose stripes ye were healed." (I Pet. 2: 18–24.)

JACOB. That is a wonderful sermon. I have always felt that Jesus was one of our Jewish prophets, and though I could not agree with all that Christians say of him, I would gladly take him as an example to follow.

AHMAD. Yes, of course, everyone knows that Jesus is the example that we ought to follow if we can. But he was sinless, and we are burdened with sin; so how can we follow his example? The words keep ringing in my ears, "By his stripes we are healed." And now Abdul Masih has read us these words which say, "Christ also suffered for you." Tell us, is it really true?

ABDUL MASIH. It is the truest thing in the world. Did you not know that we call Jesus the Saviour?

AHMAD. Yes, but I thought that only applied to Christians.

JACOB. Don't you remember it said, "I will give thee for a covenant of the people (i. e., the Jews), for a light of the Gentiles (i. e., the rest of mankind)"?

ABDUL MASIH. The Saviour is his name, but it is more than a name, for all who know him know that he is their Saviour, and he alone. In none other is there salvation, for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved. (Acts 4: 12.)

JACOB. It is written in another of our prophets, "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: It shall yet come to pass that there shall come peoples, and the inhabitants of many cities; and the inhabitants of one city shall go to another saying, Let us go speedily to intreat the favour of the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts. I will go also." (Zech. 8: 20–21.)

ABDUL MASIH. People all the world over are saying, "I will go also" today. Hindus and Moslems, Chinese and idolators, men and women from every race and every land, are turning their faces towards Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world. And the joy that they find in the presence of Christ is the proof that the sacrifice of the death of Christ has not been in vain.

JACOB. I can almost believe it; for in all the books that I have ever read I have never seen so perfect a character described as the Servant of the Lord by our prophet Isaiah. And if indeed Jesus lived as you say, equalling or even surpassing the Servant of the Lord, who can fail to follow him? But how may we know of a certainty that Jesus lived as you say?

ABDUL MASIH. Let us three meet together each evening and search the *Injil* to see whether these things are so.

JACOB. That I will gladly do.

AHMAD. And I also. But is it very difficult? And are you learned enough to translate the *Injil* for us?

ABDUL MASIH. Learned? No. There is no need for a translator, for the *Injil* is written in every language of the world, and says the same thing in every one. There are difficulties which lie, not in the language, but in the things that are said. For instance here are three hard sayings, "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." "He that would be first among you, let him be your servant." "The disciple is not above his master, but every one when he is perfected shall be as his master." (Mark 8: 34. Matt. 20: 27. Luke 6: 40.) Can you understand them?

AHMAD. The words are simple enough for a child to understand. But those words ask of us more than our hearts can understand, and they offer us more than our hearts can hope for.

ABDUL MASIH. God is greater than our hearts, and will enlarge our hearts to receive Him. Before we part this evening, let us lift up our hearts to Him in prayer that He may make Himself known to us.

(*The three rise and stand in silence lifting up their hearts to God. The angels in heaven hasten before the Throne to bring the glad tidings, "Three men are seeking Thee."*)

Lahore, India. L. E. BROWNE.

SOME BEDAWIN OF PALESTINE

Crossing the Northern Judean desert, from Artas to the Frank Mountain, the writer came upon a man ploughing the hard stony ground of a hillside. His small oxen were weary of the irregular pressure on their yokes, his plough was a poor little surface implement, he was struggling with the dry ground, exasperated. I could not resist the remark: "Which is better, this, or raiding?" His features relaxed, ploughing forgotten, he stood, and for a few minutes described the joys of a lawless raiding life.

In the desert of Bir Shiba, we spoke with a *Badu* of the Tarabin tribe, of the hereditary feud between the Tarabin and Azazmah tribes. "And why," I asked, "does this feud continue to exist?" "Because they are never satisfied with what they possess." "Do not they say: 'This is mine, and this is yours—let it rest thus. . . .'" My Tarabin companion thought this state of affairs was a great pity, and he agreed with what one suggested about it.

"Woe is me that I dwell in the tents of Kedar! My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace: but when I speak, they are for war." (Psalm cxx: 5–7.)

Strange it is that the Tarabin who was for peace is of nomad stock, while the ploughman's ancestors were farmers, who became tent-dwellers to avoid Turkish taxes and conscription. The chief of his sub-tribe is a son of the renowned Sulaiman Al Wahsh, an outlaw so daring and clever that the Turks failed to control him by fair means; they invited him to conference at Haifa, and there poisoned him. Three tribes between Bethlehem and Jeri-

cho, southwest and south, were originally farmers. Also the Salawiyah—say thirty or forty tents, near Bir Shiba—were villagers of Khan Yunis.

Most of the Bedawin of Palestine are living at such close quarters to one another, that they realize the advantages of mutual friendly relations. They may be inter-dependent for those essentials—pasture and water; or they may be dependent for these upon a common source, and therefore passing one another constantly on camel-tracks or high roads to some well or wady.

In the old days tents were pitched as camps, as they often are now; even in harvest time they dared not scatter much. Now one may cycle through many miles of harvest land dotted with little clumps of two to five tents and many single tents. Bedawin of Palestine seem to pilfer as much from members of their own tribe, as from those of other tribes. The days of raiding one another are over; this is, of course, not the case in Transjordania and Arabia. In all these countries—at least among Bedawin women—mutual pilfering seems to be generally practiced.

The Transjordan Bedawin enjoy swimming the Jordan on cloudy nights, in parties of ten to thirty, to pick up as much as possible from the Bani Saqar, or other tribes grazing in the Jordan valley. Only the chiefs of Bedawin in Palestine have rifles, whereas the inhabitants of Transjordania carry arms to defend themselves against brigands and Wahhabi raiders. This makes the struggle unequal—though it also probably avoids much bloodshed. In the north the Ghazawiyah tribe seemed in 1928 the worst offenders, and they posed as unrepentent. It seemed to me that on the Palestine side of the river only a few old women were exceptions to the general desire for peace; but even these old women were not unaffected by the suggestion: "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

Were they satisfied then to call the Judge of all the Earth "Father?" On the whole, yes; or if not at once,

after a little explanation. To our surprise, we heard there for the first time the term "Father of All;" therefore, "Father of our Spirits" and "Heavenly Father" did not seem too strange or inconsistent. Indeed, I have found the expression "Father of All" current among all the tent-dwellers I have visited up and down Palestine. And many of them speak of Christ as Redeemer, or Saviour; and they are, I think, beginning to know Him as God's Word, incarnate to reveal the Father and heaven to us, then to sacrifice Himself for our sins, and, after rising from the dead, and seeing His friends on earth, ascending to God as Intercessor. Of His return, of course, all Mohammedans are speaking—or thinking. Many of the Bedawin know who will mourn and who will rejoice in that day. And some are interested to find that their non-Mohammedan friends—and others—may be *"Moslems"* (i. e., Surrendered to God), not through Mohammed who taught: "I am a man like you," and "There is no intercessor except God;" but through Christ who taught : "I and My Father are one"—"Who ever liveth to make intercession."

All the Bedawin I know are Sufis (mystics), yet very few of them have heard the term, or even the name of Ghazali, or of mysticism. They are just naturally thoughtful, reverent nature-children, and as such, most delightful companions and friends. The idea of our being the spiritual family of the Lord of the Universe comes to them, not as a fantasy, but as reasonable and attractive; as is also the idea of our serving Him from motives of love rather than fear—as a chief's son his father.

The differences between the Bedawin of Palestine and those of Arabia may be mainly the result of environment. They might be grouped under several headings.

All Bedawin—or very nearly all—in Palestine want to cultivate the ground, and they work their own land, leaving it only in case of drought, or to till land elsewhere, or for pasture.

The Arabian Bedawin, on the other hand, despise farmers, and though they possess tribal lands in plenty, and often arable land, they hold the land jealously for pasture. There weaker tribes pay tribute to the stronger ones, for the privilege of protection, and grazing over their lands. For long enough, northward emigration from Arabia has provided a transition class of ex-Bedawin living first in mat huts, then in stone or mud buildings. Within the last few years one reads of Ibn Sa'ud's scheme of farmer-colonists in oases, each settlement having from 200 to 2,000 inhabitants. When Rihani wrote, some 65,000 Arabs of Ibn Sa'ud's army were thus settled.

The counterpart of this exists in Palestine. An hour's walk S. S. W. from Jerusalem, over two hillocks, are three or more stone houses, built primarily to store grain of the tribe to which the land belongs. The Bedawin are already living in these houses in rainy or cold weather. They learned to build by coming to Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Bait Sahur from the surrounding desert, and working as laborers for town builders. Also near the Sea of Galilee there are a few mat huts, and many mat sides below tent roofs, very like what one sees in Iraq.

Another difference is the much larger area over which Arabs roam in Arabia. There one has trekked for pasture or water five consecutive days, and rarely remained in the same camping ground ten days. To know how to find pasture and water for several thousand camels is a fine art; and to endure a ten hours' ride in Ramadan, because no nearer camping ground could be found, is magnificent training.

Such physical obstacles are avoided in Palestine mainly by shorter distances. Instead of roaming the desert, the herdsman agrees with the owner of one of several mechanically worked wells, say in Bir Shiba, to pay two pence per month for each donkey load of two stone jars or petroleum tins, in rope or wire panniers. For the sheep and goats they used to pay a little more, but now

two pence and a half for batches of ten or a dozen is accepted. I think five pence per month is paid for each camel's drink, and for its loads, according to the quantity carried. As in Arabia, the sheep and goats expect to drink only once a day, and may come only once in two days.

In summer, Palestine Bedawin pack up their heavy black goats' hair tents and live under flapping patchwork of sacking, which is airier, and more easily moved from patch to patch of harvest land.

One is very much struck in Palestine by the quantity of bread eaten by Bedawin. It is baked for lunch and supper, when not on trek; and by chiefs for breakfast also; poorer folk eat what remains from yesterday for breakfast, or they leave that for the children and take only a few mouthfuls before lunch, or perhaps nothing. The bread is made of millet, or millet mixed with wheat or barley; and for guests, all wheat if possible. It is made unleavened if unexpectedly called for, otherwise generally leavened with a lump of yesterday's dough. To bake, the dough is spread out in varying size and thickness on a mushroom-shaped iron sheet under which fire is lighted.

After a poor harvest many Bedawin eat this bread dry, two or three times daily. Then comes rain, and the "little bread" springs up. This they eagerly gather, and make into sauce into which the bread is dipped—the sop (St. John xiii: 26). Dates and rice are luxuries, though not uncommon in Palestine tents; whereas in Arabia, without them Arabs risk starvation, while wheat is the luxury, eaten only by chiefs, or kept for guests. Bedawin are good customers on market days for kitchen garden produce—tomatoes, cucumbers, water-melons, radishes, lettuce, all fruits, and dried fruits.

Bedawin women are generally considered more attractive than those of the towns or villages in Palestine. They are independent, a characteristic of all Arab as distinct from other oriental women. They are unaffected,

and deliciously fond of play, hardy and athletic. Unlike other Eastern women, they want very much to ride my bicycle, and will sometimes try. They ride it, as do the men, the first time they try with a little awkwardness. I have given several girls rides. They hide any fear they may feel as well as do the lads, are more obedient, and gentler than they—altogether charming little people, and very affectionate when they have once adopted you as a friend; they are not sentimental. The women and girls ride any animals, except horses, and manage animals very much as do Bedawin men; both the men and the women expect us to be equally hardy, and also to ride horses as their men do! In Arabia they did not expect this, and were surprised if one led in a wild young camel quietly, or trained one by riding it, or controlled a frightened animal by word or touch. They spoke of Miss Gertrude Bell's horsemanship and camel-riding as wonderfully expert.

Bedawin babies are great explorers. Sometimes several at the same moment will crawl after your sunshade or handbag, right into your lap and your arms, where they remain quite happily. If you take a young babe it is very rarely afraid, and will drop asleep in your arms.

The physical scourge of Bedawin, in Palestine as elsewhere, is bone-phthisis. I hope bacteriologists will soon tell us that this is caused by their drinking unboiled milk, and then that the medical service will run a propaganda campaign against the custom, which is very general, and may not be easy to stop. Shepherd lads seem to be the worst sufferers, i. e., the ones who are constantly drinking milk from their charges, getting other food only once perhaps each day.

Eye trouble is markedly worse among the children and adults of camps pitched near villages. The eyes of most Bedawin far from villages are in bad condition only where they omit to wash them daily.

The way Bedawin treat animals marks them at once as different from other Eastern people in Palestine.

Quite often a Badu will lead his camel, even if unloaded, and saddled for riding. If you see a lad riding a loaded water donkey, be pretty sure he is a fellah, not a Badu. On the other hand, women and sometimes men returning from market, do ride donkeys in fair condition with light loads; but I do not remember seeing a Bedawin man or woman ride an obviously tired animal, they dismount and walk. Shepherds walk ahead of their flocks, playing little reed flutes; or if behind, they are following (Amos vii: 15), not driving the flock. Lambs and children playing and frisking about together are often a pretty sight.

The Arabic of the Bedawin in Palestine is much more like that of Arabia than is the speech of the townsmen and *fellahin.* Whether there are now any Christian Bedawin in Palestine—as in northern Transjordania—I do not know; but formerly undoubtedly there were such. A story runs that the Bani Ghassan, scattered around the district of Ashdod, Majdol, Gaza, and Askelon (land of fair-skinned villagers and crusader relics) were mixed, Mohammedan and Christian. The Mohammedans conspired to exterminate the Christians, who therefore fled and scattered, mostly in Syria. The descendants of some of these have now returned and while living as villagers or townsfolk pride themselves on their Arab origin. Christ's church in the desert is probably on no earthly register. May there be many whose "names are written in heaven."

Bir Shiba, Palestine. "NARGIS."

CURRENT TOPICS

The Moslem Movement in America

Early in 1920 Mr. M. M. Sadiq, a representative of an aggressive Moslem sect of India known as the "Ahmadiyya Movement," began to promote his faith among the colored people of America. Previous to that he had spent three or four years in London where he gained, according to reports, some two hundred converts. He opened headquarters at Chicago, where he labored until 1923, when he returned to India. Mr. Sadiq was an active promoter and he won a following among the negroes in Detroit, Indianapolis and Chicago. The movement spread to St. Louis and a few other cities. New York was said at one time to have a membership of about 125. Three years ago Chicago claimed an active membership of sixty to seventy, although 250 to 300 had joined the movement. The men who followed Mr. Sadiq were less aggressive.

The writer visited a number of these Mosque meetings. The attendance varied from twenty-five to forty, mostly adults. The lectures were listened to with interest. The virtues of Islam were exalted and Christianity was severely criticized. Race prejudice loomed large; Islam promised racial equality.

Sufi M. B. Bengali, M. A., came to America in August, 1928, to inaugurate Moslem work among the whites. He opened headquarters at 56 East Congress Street, Chicago, and visited Detroit where a number of colored and Arab Moslems conduct weekly meetings under the Arab lay leader. He has also visited Indianapolis where an organized work among negroes still continues. He seeks whites, converts and classes. He secured an opening through lectures which have given him some publicity. He spoke before a "Reconciliation" group consisting mainly of university students, gave an address on the "Life of Mohammed" at the University of Chicago, and was one of the speakers at a union meeting of the Fellowship of Faiths in the Chicago Temple.

The writer attended one of these meetings in December, 1929. Between forty-five and fifty people were present. The subject was, "The Life of a True Moslem," and the address well worth hearing. Those present listened with interest. The speaker presented his subject positively, exalting it and with no critical reference to Christianity. Following him a lawyer spoke, praising the ancient learning of Islam. Mr. Bengali informs me that this gentleman has recently united with his movement. He claims a membership of twelve (whites) in Chicago and in the country at large between eighty and ninety.

Mr. Bengali feels greatly encouraged, declaring that he has thus far succeeded beyond his expectations. He sees a great future for his sect among the American people. "Our plan is," he says, "we are going to conquer America."

The movement has a devoted disciple in the person of Mr. G. A.

Zandra of Hollywood, California. Writing in November, 1929, he says, "My conversion to Islam, the true faith, has given me the inspiration to establish a Hollywood Study Center. . . . You must realize that I have been a profound student of the Al Koran, and consequently it is my sincere desire to do as much as I can to stimulate interest in our beloved Ahmadiyya Movement and by organizing a local study group composed of some of the most intellectual motion picture professional people, I know that many can be converted to our cause." This gentleman for the past twelve years has lectured on inspirational psychology in the larger cities of America. Early in January he wrote of delivering lectures over the radio. He finds this "a very effective medium with which to convert many to the cause of Islam."

The Moslem Sunrise, a Moslem monthly started by Mr. Sadiq in 1921, has not been published for a number of years. Mr. Bengali intends to start publishing this paper again in the near future as a means for promoting his cause.

Approximately 1500 negroes are said to have joined the movement, most of them from the poorer classes. They were attracted to Islam by the simplicity of its faith, its advocacy of race equality, its claims to universality, and its ideals as they were held forth in contrast with the practices of our western civilization. There is no persecution for those who are drawn to Islam. In this respect the promoter of Islam in America has an advantage which the missionary teaching Christianity to Moslems does not have. The convert to Christ in a Moslem land must face persecution. This movement is only one of a number of Eastern cults found in our American cities.

Chicago, Ill. ANDREW T. HOFFERT.

The "American" Religion

The article below is a translation from the *Iran,* the government subsidized Teheran daily newspaper. It is a translation of an article in the New York *Times.* This illustrates the fact that censorship is becoming much less strict, and that Persian "powers that be" are again preparing to follow Turkey's lead:

The Turkish government has made the study of the English language compulsory in all her schools, beginning with this scholastic year, as a result of which English is going to take the place of French, which was taught there for many years. One of the prominent statesmen of Turkey, who is a very intimate friend of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, is Faleh Rafigh Bey, a representative in the Turkish Parliament. In the official paper, *Meliat,* he has written an article in which he says:

"In a country whose nature, cities, sciences, knowledge and finally its people should be renewed—like our country—American civilization should be the foundations of its improvements. Imitation of the civilization of Europe is not good for us. The first step toward this goal will be to spread the English language among the people, because in order to get the American civilization and spirit we should not only change our way of production, etc., but should change our system of education in the first place. The habit which is produced in man by means of education and makes a man able to look upon everything as a success and benefit, or in other words gives him initiative, can be gotten through American spirit and civilization. This is just opposite to the spirit which

has been taught us by our dervishes and mollas for centuries. We should either deviate from this way or remain stagnant as before and die in that condition. The old literate Turks are also drowned in the swamp of the old civilization, and are afraid to reach their hands to uproot this civilization, and do no more than talking. *We should accept the American religion with all our heart and know it as our true religion, for the ideal of this religion is creation and initiation. The God of an American does not like the people who as parasites die on the streets from hunger, but likes and praises an individual who works and builds a palace for himself."*

Faleh Rafigh Bey made a trip through southern America and all through Europe, and began his propaganda after that. The influence of the United States in Latin America impressed him very much, and made him preach the American civilization. And now the Turkish government is helping him.

Islam in India Today

The *Simla News,* in the course of a leading article, briefly surveyed the condition of the Indian Muslims, particularly in regard to their political status in relation to the status of the other major community. The article dealt with the subject with justice and fairness, and we make no apology to reproduce it here at length. Says our contemporary:

The condition of Muslim India is pitiable indeed. There is chaos and confusion in thought and action. There is clash of ideas and difference of opinion among the intelligentsia. Nay, there is strife and bitterness which at this juncture is all the more regrettable.

It is not because there are no leaders in the community or no organizations. Leaders and organizations there are galore, but there are leaders opposed to each other, and organizations only adding to the present confusion.

There is the Muslim League, but it stands divided. There is the Central Khilafat Committee, but it stands discredited. And now there is the All-Parties Muslim Conference, with nothing yet accomplished.

There is no Central organization of the community—no press worth the name to ventilate its grievances, no common platform for leaders to work together, no papers or programme for masses to go by.

How long is this state of affairs to continue? Let us for once warn the Muslim community that its fate is bound up with the rest of India, but it must first put its house in order.

The leading sister community is already well advanced. There are differences among them too, but they are nevertheless united. They have a fellow-feeling among themselves which is not to be found among Muslims. The leaders differ to agree and agree to differ, but they are all the same held together by a common tie of brotherhood. The masses are no longer dumb driven cattle. They are daily developing a consciousness of their own needs and are alive to the exigencies of the times.—*The Light* (Lahore).

Religious Liberty in Egypt

The following very remarkable letter recently appeared in the London *Times* from that noble and disinterested statesman Lord Cecil, who has won so much respect at Geneva for his integrity, his humanity and his love of peace:

Sir:—It is understood that negotiations are now pending between this country and Egypt, the main object of which is to regulate the relations between the two countries and to secure to Egypt the full status of a sovereign and independent nation. If they succeed, Egypt will take her place among other advanced nations of the world.

It may not therefore be out of place to call attention to an anomaly in her legislative system which is scarcely consonant with that position. Although Article 12 of the Egyptian Constitution states definitely that "liberty of conscience is absolute", this very definite guarantee, which all civilized States today regard as essential, has not been interpreted in Egypt as it is understood elsewhere. Liberty of religious conversion is apparently not covered by this provision. For instance, I understand that, by the law prevailing in Egypt at the present time, an unmarried woman who is converted to Christianity may be forcibly taken from any position she holds and restored to her Moslem parents, who may then practically insist on a Moslem husband for her. Several cases have occurred in which this has been done.

To Western minds such procedure seems quite inconsistent with that religious liberty which is nevertheless a principle of the Egyptian Constitution. Conversion from Christianity to Islam, or from Islam to Christianity, is in all Western nations regarded as a matter of individual discretion, not to be interfered with by the State. Is it too much to suggest to Egyptians, in no spirit of superiority, that political freedom does not accord with the denial of liberty to individuals in so vital a matter as religion, and to hope that the Egyptian Government will, before Egypt takes her place in the community of nations, remove this archaic blot from her legal system?

Yours very truly,
CECIL.

16, South Eaton Place, S. W., Jan. 17.

French Mission across Sahara

During the early months of last year an expedition, led by H.R.H. the Prince Sixte de Bourbon, crossed the Sahara from Algiers to Lake Chad and back. The object of the mission was to open up a new French Trans-Saharan motor route, connecting North Africa with the Niger Colony and French Equatorial Africa, and through them with Nigeria and the Belgian Congo. The proposed reconnaissance was regarded with favor by the Minister of Air, as the route held out possibilities as a new airway, and by the Governor-General of Algeria, as it covered part of the itinerary for the motor race to be run early next year in celebration of the centenary of the French occupation of Algiers. The mission was also charged by the Museum of Natural History, the French Geographical Society and the Society of Commercial Geography with collecting information about the regions crossed.

The expedition left Algiers on January 26, 1929, and made for Lake Chad by way of Ghardaia, El Golea, In Salah, Tamanraset, In Gezam and Zinder. The most interesting section of this outward journey was that between In Gezam and Tegida-n-Tesemt, as here the expedition had to find its own track, trying to identify the natural landmarks indicated by Commandant Rottier, who made a reconnaissance in May, 1927, and suggested a motor route avoiding the foothills west of

Aïr. Skirting the dunes of Idjederan, the convoy turned south down the T'immarsoi depression, which is a prolongation of the Wad Tafaset, and then along the eastern end of the Tesallaman.

The return journey to Algiers, reached on April 16, was made by the western and better-known route via Gao, Reggan, and Colomb Bechar, which is periodically used by the Compagnie Générale Transsaharienne. The general trend of the mission's conclusions, after their 10,160 km. trek across the Sahara, as to the probable commercial utility of a railway across this region, seems to be summed up in the closing words of the account of the expedition: "The mission hopes in this manner to have contributed in an essentially practical way to the development of Trans-Saharan lines of communication. The motor car provides an immediate solution of this problem, easy and amply sufficient for present needs, and without prejudice to measures of a wider character, such as a railway line, which may eventually be realized in the future."

On the recommendation of the mission the improvement of the Gangara-In Gezam section of the eastern route has been undertaken by the Governor of the Niger Colony, and Colonel Gautsch states that the route will be open for traffic by the beginning of 1930.—*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*

What is a Mullah?

The word sums up in a nutshell, the mentality and the way of life which is the product of narrow outlook, narrow-mindedness, intellectual slavery, blind-following, stagnation, bigotry, and intolerance. A few years back, in 1925, we gave a definition of Mulla-ism too, in the columns of *The Light,* a definition in the language of arithmetic and it will not perhaps be out of place to reproduce it for the reader's amusement:

Mulla = form-worship + letter-worship — essence — reality + kafir-making + sect-making — unity — brotherhood + blind-following — common-sense + load of books — the Quran + compulsion in religion — freedom of conscience + (perversity of head × stubborn-ness) + deceit + duplicity + (beard + turban + robe + rosary — purity — piety — Godliness) + (*miswak* — cleanliness) + { (*zakat* + charity + *niaz*) ÷ (himself + his family) }.

—*The Light* (Lahore) October, 1929.

A Century of French Rule in Algeria

This year France celebrates on both sides of the Mediterranean the centenary of the taking of Algiers on July 5, 1830. Commenting on the recent literature that has appeared from the press, *The London Times* says:

"For the first ten years French administration was limited to half a dozen coast towns, of which Algiers was chief, with protected areas of varying extent behind them; and it was not until Marshal Bugeaud's Governor-Generalship (1841-47) that the conquest and occupation of Algeria were seriously taken in hand. Tunis was added to Algeria in 1881 and Morocco in 1912. To-day the Republic rules, apart from international Tangier and the Spanish zones in Morocco, from the

Atlantic to the Gulf of Tunis. In the meantime a handful of European officials and merchants has grown into well over a million permanent inhabitants—one-tenth of the total population; and the disorderly and derelict Moorish kingdoms of a century ago have been provided with settled and enlightened administrations, and furnished with the machinery of civilized States. In short, Africa Minor, lost for a thousand years, has been won back for Europe. And all this has sprung from the tardy and reluctant chastisement which, a hundred years ago, the Cabinet of Charles X. was constrained to administer to the pirate Dey of Algiers for his childish insults to the French Consul and the national flag."

"Feed My Lambs"

The lambs are the latest addition to the flock, and as such, need especial care, and watching, and tending. The gracious representation of the Lord given us in Isaiah 40, which is so familiar to us all, pictures Him as not only *the* Shepherd of the flock, but as *a* Shepherd who very especially tends the lambs, "gathering them in His arm" i. e., lifting them by His own strength away from the dangers that would destroy them—"carrying them in His bosom," i. e., placing them where they can enjoy the rest and the warmth and the fellowship of His love. Surely, when our Lord bade Peter to reveal His love to Himself by a ministry to His lambs, the thought is that He would have Peter know, that he was no longer only a member of the flock, but by reason of his personal love to the Lord Jesus, he carried a responsibility to the lambs of the flock, and that responsibility was nothing less than that of being an undershepherd to the Chief Shepherd, by following in His steps. Therefore, let us consider how best we Egyptian Christians, members of the indigenous Churches, can keep the Moslem convert;—let us keep alive in our minds this interview between our Lord and Peter; and remembering that the converts are the latest addition to the flock, let us hear the Lord saying to us also;—"Lovest *thou* Me? . . . then, feed My Lambs."

The question at once arises, how can we feed his lambs? What do they need from us? I would suggest two or three points which it might be well for us to remember as we seek to answer these questions.

First:—the Moslem convert or inquirer, whether man or woman, boy or girl, who is still young in the faith, needs the help of a Christian neighbor to teach him the principles and practice of Christian living. We must never forget that the faith of Islam has to do with the confession of a creed, and the observance of certain outward customs; this idea of "a religion" is ingrained into the Moslem. We have to teach them that the Christian faith has to do with a new birth spiritually, resulting in a change of character, and a change of practice; and we have to teach them also how the one is related to the other; and this teaching has to be taught to them just as tenderly, and just as sympathetically as was the teaching of St. Paul, when he taught his Ephesian converts the meaning of truth and honesty, clean speaking and a forgiving spirit, self-control and the right attitude in family relationships.

Secondly:—Moslem converts and inquirers in all stages of their spiritual life need, and their very need demands from those of us who love the Lord Jesus, a practical ministry of personal love *to* them, and sympathy *with* them, in their difficult conditions. Both native Christians and foreign missionaries owe a debt to them in this matter, and

are under a very serious responsibility to the chief Shepherd to discharge this debt faithfully.

We have, for instance, to get deep down into the inner life of many a convert, before we know even something of how much he or she is suffering from having left all to follow the Christ. Ties of blood are never easily snapped, and perhaps less easily in the East than in the West. In most cases, the convert has severed himself forever from father and mother, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. These relationships have hitherto constituted the very environment of his life, and their preservation has been the necessity of his life. We can estimate a little of the suffering entailed, if we visualize a body, shorn of its limbs; the bleeding wounds take time to heal. The loss of vitality is slowly recovered, but the maimed condition remains. Thus, even in cases where, after a time, the convert is able to be once more in touch with his people, the first conditions can never return, unless, and may God forbid it, he or she returns to Islam. The Moslem convert has to learn in a deeper way than most of us, the depth of meaning contained in St. Paul's statement,—"we henceforth know no man after the flesh."

How can we help these converts? Sometimes we judge them, because they are so restless, and so difficult, and so unsatisfactory. Oftentimes they are as great a problem to themselves as they are to us. They are like rudderless boats on a wide stormy sea, tossed with the waves, driven hither and thither by contrary winds. They, as it were, stretch out their hands for help from those who were in Christ before them; they look around to see the faithfulness of the One Whom they are following, revealed in the lives of those who are further on in the way than they themselves are. They know there are heights of spiritual experience which they have never scaled, and depths of spiritual knowledge which they have never fathomed; and they wait and watch for those who can tell them by the testimony of a personal experience, how they too can apprehend that for which they have been apprehended by their Lord; how they too can know the wonder working power of God, even in these days, and in modern circumstances.

May the Lord, who has called us to be His shepherds to these lambs, teach us how to strengthen them, because we are ourselves being made strong in the strength of His might; and how to rest them in the warmth of our love for them, because that love is His love, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost. In this way can we shepherd them, and lead them to know how He alone can be their Strong Deliverer in every temptation; and how He alone can give them heart-rest and perfect satisfaction in the centre of His unchanging and everlasting Love for them. Does not their every need call aloud to us as from the Lord Himself? and cause us deep searchings of heart as to whether He can say to us, "Feed My Lambs"?

Cairo. EDITH M. LIGGINS.

BOOK REVIEWS

Myth and Legend of Ancient Israel. By Angelo S. Rappoport. London, 1928. 3 vols. 8vo. xlvi, 363: xiii, 399: xi, 296 pp. Gresham Publ. Co. Covent Garden, London. Price, 37/6.

Every student of Islam is aware of the great mass of legendary material that has gathered around the Biblical characters who are mentioned in the Koran. The Koranic material itself was largely drawn from Rabbinic legend and Christian fable of the class which is represented in the Apocryphal Gospels and Legends of the Saints, and in the development of Islamic thought the same sources were largely utilized both for purposes of exegesis of the Koran and for manuals of edification. The early Moslem histories such as that of Tabari, are full of this material in their sections on the pre-Islamic period, and there are well known works of *Qisas al-Anbiya,* such as those of Tha'labi and al-Kisa'i, in Arabic, or Mirkhond in Persian, which are devoted entirely to collections of such material concerning the lives and deeds of the Prophets.

Much of this material may have come into Islam from Jewish and Christian converts during the early years of Islam's spread in Arabia and the surrounding countries, but the source of much of it is still obscure, and there is still difference of opinion as to whether most of it came from Jewish sources direct or whether, though it is of Jewish origin, it did not come to the Moslems through Christian channels.

In any case there can be no doubt that the most of it is ultimately of Jewish origin, being derived from Talmudic and Midrashic sources. In recent years these sources have been made more available to scholars by excellent editions of many of the more important original texts, but there has been little that has been of much use to the non-expert. It is for this reason that the volumes before us are sure of a welcome.

Dr. Rappoport has made a thoroughly exhaustive survey of the material in the Hebrew and Aramaic sources and has presented it in a simple and readable form that will not frighten away the general reader who has no expert knowledge to guide him. The Biblical characters are taken up in the order of their occurrence in the English Bible, and all the relevant material is gathered and set forth in narrative form. The author has also made frequent reference to the later history of many of the stories after they were taken over into Christian and Moslem books, and even gives us some indication of sources, Indian, Greek or Iranian, when the stories are not of Jewish origin.

The volumes have been carefully printed, are illustrated with reproductions of artistic representations of several famous scenes, and provided with excellent Indices and Bibliography of sources.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Agrarian System of Moslem India: an Historical Essay with Appendices. By W. H. Moreland. Heffer. Cambridge, 1929. 8vo xvii, 296 pp.

Mr. Moreland, who is already well known as an authority on the period of Akbar in Indian History, has here undertaken a piece of research work on economic conditions in mediæval and later India which is of the first importance to students of the Moslem period of Indian history from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

During that period the three constituent elements of the State were the sovereign on the throne, who did the governing, the army on whom he depended for his power to enforce his will, and the peasantry who paid for it all by their toil in the fields. Of the life of the sovereigns and the courts we have fairly abundant material now available in a form accessible to students, and thus also of the life of military circles, which is necessarily linked with the life of the court. Of the life of the peasantry, however, we have had exceedingly little information presented to us, though much could be gathered by a careful examination of the original documents at our disposal.

One of the prime difficulties of such a study is that presented by the terminology. Earlier writers on this period had usually interpreted economic terms in the light of modern practice in India or of mediæval practice in Europe, and moreover, had tended to consider that a given term always had the same meaning. Mr. Moreland's researches have demonstrated that this has frequently been the source of serious misrepresentation, so that not the least important service of the present book is that it for the first time provides us with an accurate understanding of the terminology of the agrarian system during the whole of the Moslem period.

The Essay begins with the antecedents of the agrarian system in the Hindu sacred law, and traces its gradual Islamization. Six chapters follow, discussing the system in (i) the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: (ii) under the Sayyid and Afghan dynasties: (iii) during the reign of Akbar: (iv) in the seventeenth century: (v) the last phase in Northern India: (vi) in outlying regions.

The Appendices include relevant passages from the original authorities, glossaries of Indo-Persian terms, and discussion of individual questions that arose during the progress of the work.

Naturally the work is of too technical a nature to receive detailed review here, but it may be recommended to the attention of all who are interested in the History of Moslem India as an essential piece of investigation giving safe guidance in an interesting and hitherto neglected and somewhat obscure field of study.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'Histoire de la Mystique en pays d'Islam, réunis, classés, annotés et publiés par Louis Massignon. Paris, 1929. pp. VII + 259.

This is a collection of original and characteristic quotations, mostly in Arabic, from Moslem Sufis. The sayings are culled from MSS. in Damascus, Constantinople, Berlin, London, Oxford, etc., as well as from printed works. Most of the material had already been rendered into French and utilized by M. Massignon in his composition of *Essai sur les origines de lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* and of *Passion*

d'al Ḥallāj. Tirmidhi (A. D. 898) and Tawḥīdi (1023) with their technical definitions; Anṭāki (835), Muḥāsibi (857) and Qushayri (1074) with their psychological confessions; abu-Sab'īn (1207) and Warrāq (909) with their philosophical essays, figure prominently among the sources. With carefully chosen, succinctly composed phrases, reminiscent of the style used in American university commencements at the presentation of candidates for honorary Ph.D. degrees, the editor introduces in French his array of authors. The pagination follows the European system, from left to right.

The accuracy expected from such an internationally known authority does not, unfortunately, characterize this work. Hardly a page in the reviewer's copy is not marked with one or more mistakes, typographical or editorial. Even a Koranic verse is not properly quoted—a sacrilege!—(*"yunqalibūn"* p. 61, line 3 for *yanqalibūn*), and one European name is not uniformly spelled: ("Kratchkovskij" p. 1 and p. 238 n. 1, Kratchkovsky p. 13 n. 1 and p. 59 n. 1). One Arabic name is not correctly transliterated ("Naṣrabādhī" p. 84 l. 1 = Naṣrābādhi).

The printer seems particularly fond of separating the inseparable conjunction *wa* (23 such cases occur on p. 16 alone), of using broken letters (p. 20 l. 18 word 11), of transposing diacritical marks (*"lakḥṭah"* p. 39, l. 15 for *laḥzah*), of transposing letters (p. 94 l. 18 w. 4), and of employing the wrong font (p. 51 l. 11 w. 7, p. 61 l. 13 w. 9, p. 99 l. 5 w. 1.).

To the editor the troublesome *hamzah* with its variants has proved a fertile source of orthographic errors (p. 23 l. 19 w. 1, p. 44 l. 11 w. 6, p. 74 l. 1 w. 14, p. 86 l. 2 w. 2, p. 87 l. 4 w. 12, p. 97 l. 9 w. 8 etc. etc.) In one case his reading *"bi'iddi'ā'ihi"* (p. 32 l. 3) for *biddi'ā'ihi* violates the regular meter of the verse. Other corrections: p. 30 l. 2 w. 7 read aba-Yazīd, p. 155 l. 10 w. 3 read Jibrīl, p. 156 l. 19 w. 10 read *hāwinan.*

A number of emendations could be made on the text as recorded by Massignon: *"ilayhi"* p. 20 l. 6 should be *'alayhi, "tankashifu"* p. 34 l. 4 = *yankashifu, "aqbaḍuka"* p. 44 l. 8 = *naqbaḍuka* etc., etc. Notes should have been added to give the correct classical equivalents of many Arabic words apparently used in their dialectical forms: *"tawālīf"* p. 128 l. 19 = *ta'ālīf, mūtaḥidah"* p. 184 l. 11 = *muttaḥidah* etc.

Princeton University. PHILIP K. HITTI.

The Origin of the Druze People and Religion with extracts from their sacred writings by Philip K. Hitti, Ph.D., Columbia University Press, N. Y. pp. 81, with two plates and a map. $2.00.

The article in this number of our Quarterly is an introduction to the study of the Druze religion. Here we have the best up-to-date account of this mysterious cult. Professor Richard Gottheil in his foreword introduces the book and the author:

"For some nine hundred years, a strange national-religious body has lived in Syria. The Druzes have been the wonder of scholars, and the political opponents of those to whom the country in which they lived belonged. All sorts of theories have been advanced by scholars to account for their peculiar tenets and customs. All sorts of means have been tried by their overlords to put them down. The scholars have been as unsuccessful as have been the overlords; and the Druzes still remain the great mystery of the Lebanon Mountains.

"In the following study, a more serious attempt is made to solve the riddle as to who the Druzes are, why they are, and where they are. Professor Hitti is probably better fitted to make this attempt than is any other scholar. Born in the Lebanon Mountains, Arabic is his native tongue. As a boy, and as a young man, he associated with the Druzes. He has had, and still has, access to their literature. It is likely that he knows more about them than they do about themselves. For this reason, I commend the following pages very highly to the attention of all who are concerned about Syria, and who are interested in the history of religion."

In seven chapters we have an account of the racial origin of the Druzes, their social and historical background, their theology, precepts and folklore. Six appendices contain extracts from the Druze sacred writings. An important work and excellently printed.

Z.

Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas. By C. F. Andrews. Allen and Unwin, London. pp. 382. 12s.6d. net.

This, the first of two volumes, explains, with documentary evidence, the main principles and ideas for which Gandhi has stood in his eventful career. It is an individual portrait by a warm friend, whose admiration at times blinds his sober judgment. The first part tells of the Religious Environment while the second gives the Historical Setting. It is a fascinating description of a great soul by the facile pen of one who knows and loves India. The chapter that our readers will turn to first is that on the Hindu-Moslem Problem. "When we contemplate India," says Mr. Andrews, "as a whole to-day, in the north as well as in the south, we can see how, in certain matters that are vital and essential, the north of India has been truly purged by the presence of Islam from the accumulation of dead and decaying matter which was unwholesome and even poisonous. If the miasma of 'untouchability' and some of the lower mists of idol-worship have been lifted from the atmosphere of Northern India more than from the South, it is not a little due to the constant presence of a faith which swept aside the luxuriant ritual growth that had encumbered the pure worship of the One God, and insisted at the same time that in His presence all believers are equal." But he goes on to say "while Islam has acted as a purge, it has also stirred up bitter hatreds; and these have gone deep into the heart of the Hindu people. Perhaps there is no more acute religious strife in the East to-day than that between Hindus and Mussalmans. During long periods this bitterness may fall into abeyance among the masses. The natural kindliness and good-nature of the people of India may reassert itself. But sooner or later, as past history has shown, a wave of fanatical hatred seems to sweep over the country, and then all the deep-seated passions come back to the surface in terrible forms."

Then he quotes Ghandi's words. After repudiating intermarriage between Moslem and Hindu as "utterly impossible," and discountenancing even eating with Moslems, he says: "what, then, does Hindu Muslim unity consist in, and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal, and common sorrows. It is best promoted by cooperating in order to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great

country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share; and to-day, seeing that the Muhammadans are deeply touched on the question of the Khilafat, and their cause is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Muhammadan friendship for the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the claim."

These quotations will suffice to whet the appetite for a book that deserves careful reading.

Z.

The Changing Sudan. By the Rev. W. Wilson Cash. Church Missionary Society, 1930. 88 pp. 1s.

Another of Mr. Cash's vivid flash-lights in missionary situations of today. It sums up the impressions and results of a visit paid by him to deal with an urgent problem. "Missionary aims of half a century ago have in many ways become the objectives of governments." Mental enlightenment and physical healing is a task in which both have their part. Here is the Northern Sudan, once devastated by the Mahdi and his hordes, now filling up with a prosperous Moslem population, sorely in need of schools, specially for girls and hospitals. For a generation the C. M. S. has done something to provide both; but continuance under financial pressure seemed impossible. How the entreaties of the Moslem Sudanese turned the scale is told by this book. But there are vaster spaces southward in the valley of the upper Nile crying for help. The Bishop and the Archdeacon of the diocese have travelled a thousand miles each to meet the secretary of the C. M. S. That immense territory is pagan and the spread of a Christian civilization there will be welcome to the rulers, for how are these primitive tribes to meet the incoming of modern cultivation, commerce and social life without some moral spiritual uplift? Read in this book how the first saplings of a Christian community are being planted along the upper Nile and already bearing some fruit.

H. U. W. Stanton.

Wurm's Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte. Revised Edition by A. Blum-Erust, published by Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1929, 647 pp. 14 Marks.

This book is a revised edition of the Handbook of the History of Religions by Wurm, a reprint of which has already been edited in 1908. By its Christian standpoint it widely differs from other German books on the same subject. As it throws much light upon the relations between the Christian and the non-Christian religions, it will be very useful to missionary workers. It shows up three groups of religions:

1. The religions of the primitive tribes. These statements are of great importance for missionaries working among the tribes that have lately gone over to Islam.

2. The national religions. In this part, the Chinese and Japanese religions are only treated by the way, but the investigations about the Indian religions are very thorough.

3. The universal religions. Under this title the book deals with Buddhism and Islam. On p. 536 it is erroneously stated that Islam has neither priesthood nor bloody sacrifices. This mistake is set right on p. 623 by the remark that victims are being sacrificed during the pilgrimage to Mecca as well as in other cases. Mysticism and Orders

are also duly mentioned, but the history of Islam and its theology are only touched. In dealing with the sects, the author ought to have mentioned, besides the Babi, their successors, the Behai, though they themselves do not care to be counted among the Mohammedans, as they pretend to bring a new universal religion. Also the revival of the Wahhabi in Arabia might have been mentioned, "the Ikhwan, Ibn Sa'ud's fanatical tribesmen, who regard all Moslems outside their own sect as heretics," as W. Idris Jones in THE MOSLEM WORLD for July, 1929, justly remarks.

On the whole the book may be warmly recommended to beginners in missionary work, and to students of the history of religions. It should be found in every Seminary for missionaries, where it can do excellent service as a basis for lectures and discussions. SIMON.

A Baghdad Chronicle. By R. Levy. Cambridge University Press. pp. 279. 5/- net.

In this popular historical study, Mr. Levy, Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge, records the social history of Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphs. Interwoven with the politics of the period he presents a lively and at times a humorous picture of the daily life of this great Moslem metropolis, its customs, manners and its typical citizens. After an introductory chapter on Baghdad (*Bag-da-du*) of Merodach-Baladan (1189 B. C.) and a village on the same site in Sassanian times, the story begins with the founding of Moslem Baghdad by the Caliph Mansur, 754 A. D. Its later expansion, the growth and prestige it attained in the days of Harun Al Rashid, the first siege of the city, the illustrious reign of Ma'mūn, and its decline under Persian and Seljuq rulers, are admirably sketched. The last chapter deals with the downfall of Baghdad when Hulagu Khan, the Mongol conqueror, marched down the Khorasan highway and flooded the city approaches. Then the city was sacked and its glory departed, never to return, "until the events of recent years once again made it the capital of a kingdom." But the story in this volume closes 1257 A. D., and the curtain falls on the scene of unutterable cruelty when Mongol massacred Moslem, and the center of Islamic learning was transferred to Damascus and Cairo. The learned author gives one hundred and four titles in his bibliography, and abundant notes refer to these historical documents and rare manuscripts. Z.

Das Jenseits im Glauben der Völker. Von Professor Dr. J. Witte. 126 Seiten. Gebunden Mk. 1.80 (Sammlung Wissenschaft und Bildung.) Verlag Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig.

The idea of future life and the eschatological beliefs in all the principal religions are here brought together in brief compass, but with scholarly accuracy. Not only among the primitive races, but among Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, we find faith in the immortality of the soul, and a possible resurrection of the body. Eternity is set in the heart of humanity. Christ revealed its significance, and His resurrection crowned all previous glimmerings of hope with the glory of reality. The chapter on Islam is brief (pp. 97–106) but accurate, and with Koran references for each statement. The author does not give the teaching of later tradition, nor the additions and accretions such as we find, for example, in *Daqa'iq-ul-Akhbar,* a popular treatise on heaven and hell sold in every part of the world of Islam. Z.

The Virgin Birth of Christ. By J. Gresham Machen, D.D., Litt. D. Harpers and Brothers, New York. pp. 415. $5.

Missionaries to Moslems have recently met with controversial articles published by the Ahmadiya Press assailing the Virgin Birth of our Lord. Reference to this controversy has been made in our Quarterly. We recommend this book as it contains in substance all the special studies published by the author and is an able defense of the historic position of the Christian Church. The author indicates the line of his argument in his introduction as follows: "According to a universal belief of the historic Christian Church, Jesus of Nazareth was born without human father, being conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the virgin Mary. It is the purpose of the following discussion to investigate the origin of this belief. Whatever may be thought of the virgin birth itself, the belief of the Church in the virgin birth is a fact of history which no one denies. How is that fact to be explained?

"Two explanations are possible.

"In the first place, it may be held that the Church came to believe in the virgin birth for the simple reason that the virgin birth was a fact; the reason why the creed came to say that Jesus was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the virgin Mary is that He was actually so conceived and so born.

"In the second place, it may be held that the virgin birth was not a fact, but that the Church came to accept it as a fact through some sort of error."

His conclusion is that "The New Testament presentation of Jesus is not an agglomeration, but an organism, and of that organism the virgin birth is an integral part. Remove the part, and the whole becomes harder and not easier to accept; the New Testament account of Jesus is presented in the Word of God; and that Jesus did not come into the world by ordinary generation, but was conceived in the womb of the virgin by the Holy Ghost."

Z.

Novie Vostok. Official Press. Moscow, 1929. 8vo xlii, 431 pp.

This new Russian Review, the *New Orient,* is being published at Moscow under Soviet auspices as a piece of Bolshevist propaganda rather than as a scholarly production, though that does not necessarily mean that the articles are not at times of quite a scholarly tone. It well represents, however, the difference in tone between the old capital and the new, for while Leningrad still strives to maintain the old scholarly attitude and to produce work of purely scholarly interest, the production of Moscow is dominantly propagandist.

Each issue of the *New Orient* consists of seven sections, (i) Politico-economic: (ii) Commerce and Industry: (iii) Revolutionary Movements: (iv) The Soviet East: (v) Historico-ethnologic: (vi) News and Notes: (vii) Reviews and Bibliography.

Some of the articles in the present number are exceedingly able, e. g., Grimm's discussion of the "Bases of English Policy in Afghanistan" which ably raises the whole question of England's fear of Russian influence in India. The Islamic interest of the articles, however, is only incidental.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Grande Turke. By Fairfax Downey; Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London. pp. 322. 15/-.

"Suleyman, the greatest of the Turkish sultans, who in the sixteenth century brought the Ottoman Empire to its greatest power and brilliance, is the subject of this colorful biography. Suleyman was the great ruler in the period of High Renaissance; the Mediterranean and most of the surrounding countries bowed before him. Twice he led his army to the very gates of Vienna; Charles V was the only contemporary ruler of comparable strength."

The life of Suleyman the Magnificent is enhanced and made glamorous by the descriptive and flowing style of Fairfax Downey. Although the flavor of the book is that of a romantic novel, the extensive bibliography appended shows that these amazing incidents are not fiction, but facts. A book well worth reading. M. Z.

Les Berbères Marocains par G. A. Poissonnier, O.F.M.
Quand l'Islam sera-t-il Chrétien? par Paul Bohain, S.J.
La Femme Kabyle par La Soeur Marie-Christian.
Un Apôtre de l'Islam au XVI Siècle par Georges Meessen, S. J., Librarie Xaveriana, 11 Rue des Recollets, Louvain, Belgique.

These four little books are of a series entitled *Xaveriana*, a monthly missionary publication of the Roman Catholic Church. They indicate the increasing interest in Moslem evangelism, especially in the French Colonies and East Africa. The bibliography given shows that the Roman Catholic Church is in close touch with everything that is published by Protestant Missions.

East Africa in Transition, Being an Examination of the Principles of the Report of the Hilton Young Commission. With a Preface by Lord Lugard. Student Christian Movement, London, pp. 83. 1/-.

This booklet is the Christian view of the problem presented by the race conflict, especially in Kenya. The authors are not mentioned. They discuss the factors in the problem, the native policy, the political problem in Kenya, and the proposals of the recent Royal Commission. On the solution of this problem depends the progress, moral and economic, not only of the black races, but of the white race in East Africa.

The Women of Cairo. Scenes of life in the Orient. By Gerard de Nerval. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, London. 2 Vols. 288 pp. and 402 pp. 25/-.

These volumes are a credit to the publishers, being very well produced. Whoever purchases them, however, paying the full publisher's price in the hope of gaining real information about the Women of Cairo will regret doing so. The title of the book when originally published in French was "Voyages en Orient." Why the translator, or the publishers, changed the title to "The Women of Cairo" is a mystery. Very little information is given about women, or woman life, at all; still less of the women of Cairo, and this only in the first volume. The second volume (and part of the first) is devoted entirely to travels in Syria, and experiences in Constantinople, and the narration of legends. The scenes of life depicted are all things of the past, and, probably, in some instances never existed save in the over excited imagination of De Nerval. For purposes of comparison between the lives of women

then and now the work is of comparatively little value. The book was originally published more than fifty years ago. A few years afterwards the author was in a lunatic asylum, from which he escaped one cold wintry night to end his life by suicide.

The style is most vivid and interesting, and the work of translation well done. Anyone who wants to be entertained for two or three hours might do worse than acquire this book. For comparative, or other purposes it is of little value. W. T. FAIRMAN.

Beitrage zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie, und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients. Herausgegeben von Hans Mzik: Franz Deuticke, Leipzig und Wien. pp. 202. Preis M.25.

This contribution to the Historical geography of the Far and Near East is one of a series. It consists of twelve papers prepared in honor of the 70th birthday of Dr. Eugen Oberhummer, of the University of Vienna, by various writers in the Universities of Vienna, Münster, Budapest, and Bonn. The titles of these papers give the content of the volume, which is embellished with a number of interesting prints and wood-cuts. The first chapter is a description of the famous ancient Atlas of Blaeu found in the National Library at Vienna. This is followed by a study of "The Sea in the history and civilization of Islam." Other papers deal with the Arabic geographer Ibn-al-Wardi's description of Constantinople, the geographical names of the Red Sea and Egypt, and a concluding paper by the editor on information found in the Arabic geographies concerning southeastern Asia.

Z.

The Desire of All Nations. By Egbert W. Smith. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, U. S. A. pp. 190.

The author of this book is the Executive Secretary of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and therefore knows what he is writing about.

Small in size (the book contains only 190 pages), it will nevertheless prove of great value to all who are interested in the work of developing interest in Foreign Missions. It is popularly written, and places many arguments in the hands of those at home who advocate the Foreign Mission cause. It shows what is the teaching of the Bible, and what the duty of the Church, the Pastor and the ordinary church member, and replies cogently to all the criticisms which are made against Foreign Missions. A good book in every sense of the word.

W. T. FAIRMAN.

Extraits des Historiens Arabes du Maroc par E. Lévi-Provençal, Directeur de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines de Rabat; 2e. Edition; Librairie Coloniale et Orientaliste Larose, 11 Rue Victor-Cousin, Paris. 156 pp.

Interesting historical *analecta* for students and a guide to the best historical sources for information on Morocco, ranging from the conquest by Musa ibn Noseir in 89 A.H. to the revolt of Jilali er-Rougi in 1278 A.H.; sixty brief extracts from twenty-four Arab authors. Brief notices of the authors and their works are given in French. A good table of contents is given in both French and Arabic. The Arabic type is poor, but the book is well printed on good paper.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Margaret Louise Waller

Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

Sinai: a Visit to St. Katharine's Monastery. C. A. G. Mackintosh. (In *Contemporary Review,* London. March, 1930. pp. 361-368.)

Describes the journey of a British motor party to a seldom visited but important shrine of Biblical history.

In Holy Mecca. Dr. Riza-Tewfik. (In *Asia,* New York. March, 1930. pp. 161-166, 226-230.)

A Turkish pilgrim recounts in detail the story of his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1922-1923.

Teheran and the Elburz. Frederick G. Clapp. (In *The Geographical Review,* New York. pp. 69-85.)

Report on the geological and physiographical aspects of this region as seen by a traveller.

Forests and Plants of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan: a paper read at the evening meeting of the society on January 13, 1930, by Dr. Chipp. (In *The Geographical Journal.* London. February, 1930. pp. 123-143.)

Shows how the forms of plant life in the five great belts of vegetation which cross the Sudan are determined by climatic, edaphic and physiographic influences.

Le Problème des Wakfs en Egypt. A. Sékaly. (In *Revue des Etudes Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier III., 1929. pp. 359-454.)

The third instalment of this monograph.

Sands of the Sahara. Owen Tweedy. (In *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston. February, 1930. pp. 266-276.)

Describes the hardships endured by two Englishmen and a Mohammedan who crossed the Sahara in a small motor lorry.

Les Chemins de fer du Soudan. Lionel Wiener. (In *Congo,* Brussels. February, 1930. pp. 250-291.)

Traces the history of railroad building in the Sudan. Gives present day statistical information as to mileage, traffic and finances of railroads and of river boats.

Le Transsaharien et la Transafricain. M. Jacques Meniaud. (In *l'Afrique française,* bulletin mensuel du Comité de l'Afrique française. March, 1930. pp. 162-189.)

Urges the immediate construction of a French railway from Morocco to the Niger basin, followed by the construction of a connecting road south through West Africa and Belgian Congo.

The Educational Work of the French Government in Algeria. J. T. C. Blackmore. (In *International Review of Missions,* London. April, 1930. pp. 266-276.)

Sympathetic review of French educational work among the Berbers. States the French aim to be a fusion of the French and Berber peoples. Since no religious teaching is given in government schools Christian missions should concentrate on moral and spiritual work rather than educational.

L'Organisation politique, administrative et judiciaire de l'Afrique francaise du Nord. A. Houyet. (In *Congo,* Brussels. February, 1930. pp. 221-249.)

Advocates economic assimilation only at the present time. Spiritual and social assimilation should come gradually. Sketches attractive tourist routes in North Africa.

The Armenians—Yesterday and Today. H. Charles Woods. (In *The Contemporary Review.* April, 1930. pp. 462-468.)

Concise statement of recent political events which have affected these people. The geographical and political position of Armenia gives it a comparatively favorable situation as part of Soviet Russia.

Armenian Thought and Literature Since 1828. Arshak Safrastian. (In *The Asiatic Review.* April, 1930. pp. 331-336.)

Sketches the history of Armenian literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and suggests that the reason for its limitations are: opposition to westernization by the church, different dialects, inaccessibility of the country and illiteracy.

Abstracta Islamica. Troisième série (sections I-XII: avec recension de 63 ouvrages nouveaux). (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier III., 1929. pp. 341-454.)

Analyzes briefly recent books on Islamic subjects.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Islamic Disintegration. John R. Turnbull. (In *World Dominion,* London. April, 1930. pp. 169-171.)

The dismembering of the Turkish empire, the abolishing of the Caliphate and the fact that Syria, Palestine and Iraq are now

nominally Christian are the disintegrating elements which prevented the holding of a Pan-Islamic conference at Cairo.

SEPARATION OF STATE AND RELIGION IN ISLAM. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar 'Ali Khan. (In *Islamic Review,* Woking. March-April, 1930. pp. 108-114.)

Disapproves of the separation of church and state in Turkey, the strongest Moslem nation. The expansion and solidarity of newly awakened Islam are threatened.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE MOSLEM DEMAND FOR BALUCHISTAN. Jatindra Mohun Dutta. (In *The Modern Review,* Calcutta. February, 1930. pp. 201-204.)

Opposes the demand for provincial autonomy for so backward a country.

THE AFGHAN CIVIL WAR (1928-1929). Prof. N. N. Ghosh. (In *The Modern Review.* February, 1930. pp. 177-185.)

Endorses the reforms of Amanullah and regrets that he was driven out by a people worked upon by mullahs and priests. The policy of Nadir Khan is viewed as a betrayal of Amanullah which may yet be righted.

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN. Mustafa Chokaiev. (In *The Asiatic Review.* London, April, 1930. pp. 324-330.)

Objection to social and educational changes in Afghanistan was a camouflage to cover the defense of the established church and of the tribal order. Disposes of the Bolshevik interpretation of events in Afghanistan as of economic origin, "A peasants' revolt."

THE MOSQUE AND THE MUFTI. Vincent Sheehan. (In *Asia,* New York. April, 1930. pp. 261-265, 291-296.)

The history of the Haram es-Sharif is presented as a background for the Arab opposition to Zionism.

THE PALESTINE CONUNDRUM. Owen Tweedy. (In *Fortnightly Review,* London. March, 1930. pp. 318-327.)

An attempt to state impartially the position of the Jews, the Arabs and the British in present-day Palestine. Recommends the development of self governing institutions.

ZIONISM. W. Ten Boom. (In *International Review of Missions,* London. April, 1930. pp. 231-240.)

In the conflict between spiritual and political Zionists the victory will go to the spiritual or eastern Zionists. The Western Jews should substitute the gospel of Christ for naturalism.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS.

THE CONQUEST OF LIBYA: a call to Italy. Joseph J. Cooksey. (In *World Dominion,* London. April, 1930. pp. 110-117.)

Suggests that, since foreign missionaries are prohibited, the

Waldensians and other Protestants of Italy undertake missionary work in Libya.

TOWARDS A UNITED NATIONAL CHURCH OF PERSIA. Bishop J. H. Linton. (In *The Church Overseas,* London. April, 1930. pp. 152-165.)

After a historical sketch of Persian missionary work by Presbyterians and Episcopalians, eleven fundamental principles of union are here stated.

HOW AND HOW FAR TO ADAPT THE EVANGELICAL MESSAGE AND METHODS TO MOSLEMS IN PRESENT-DAY INDIA. Rev. F. E. Livengood. (In *The National Christian Council Review,* Mysore City. March, 1930. pp. 124-132.)

The more receptive spirit of Moslems towards the teachings of Christianity should be met, not by controversial methods, but by the example of a life of unselfish service and by emphasizing the points in common between Islam and Christianity as well as the points in which Christianity goes beyond anything Islam has to offer.

LE CHRISTIANISME SUR LES CÔTES BARBARESQUES JUSQU'AU XIX SIÈCLE. Georges Goyau. (In *Revue d'Histoire des Missions.* March, 1930. pp. 9-40.)

Historical account of Catholic missions in the Barbary States.

THE TOMB OF MOHAMMED AT MEDINA

Facsimile taken from a recent Tamil translation of the Koran and published by P. V. Shemsuddin, George Town, Madras. The following tradition is quoted on the bottom border: Prophet, whosoever visits my tomb may be assured of my intercession."